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How abortion harms women
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High Stakes Gamble

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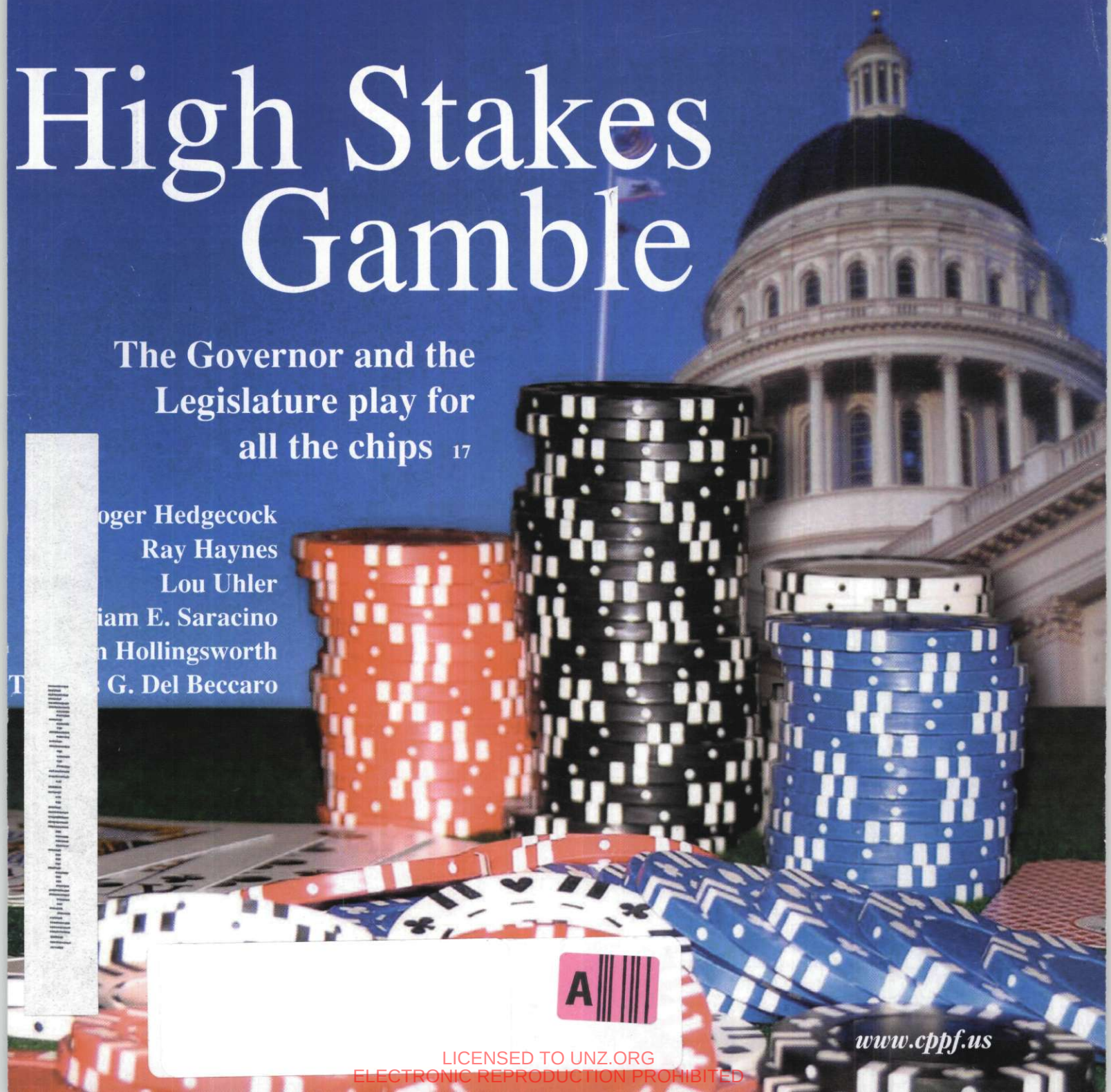

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"What happened next was all a blur."

Correctional Officer Nicole Hawthorne and her partner were escorting inmates to morning meal at California State Prison, Los Angeles County.

Without warning, one of the inmates attacked her partner. When Officer Hawthorne went to his rescue, she was attacked by another inmate.

"What happened next was all a blur," she said.

The inmate struck her repeatedly, beating her unconscious.

It was more than a year before she could return to duty. Two years later, she still suffers frequent headaches and severe back pain.

On average, nine officers are assaulted inside California prisons every day.

For them, a bad day at work can be a real killer.

CORRECTIONAL PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION · CALIFORNIA ·

California Correctional Peace Officers Association
755 Riverpoint Drive
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The Schwarzenegger magic, Big Labor money, New Media vs. Old — in 2005, all the factors will be in play. Surveying the field: Roger Hedgecock, Ray Haynes, Lou Uhler, William E. Saracino, Dan Hollingsworth, Thomas G. Del Beccaro.

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Point/ Counterpoint: Shawn Steel argues that backing the governor's redistricting reform is a 'no-brainer'; Ray Haynes cautions that new lines will not be a cure-all.

Silent No More By Bill May 29
In a city where, until recently, abortions were reputed to have out-numbered live births, San Franciscans rally, walk, and tell how "reproductive rights" harm women.

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CORRESPONDENCE

More Schwarzenegger skeptism, please

I would like to see *CPR* take a more skeptical stance toward Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger. I found it astonishing that you had his picture on your cover (*CPR*, Nov./Dec. 2004) while he was supporting Prop. 62, stem cell research, gun control, homosexual marriage, amnesty, *et al.* I find this especially puzzling given the adversarial stance you took toward Pete Wilson.

Larry Edgar
Los Angeles

CPR's editor responds:

Past *CPR* covers have featured Al Gore, Gray Davis, Dick Riordan, and, ahem, even Pete Wilson (albeit in caricature). Plainly, appearing on our cover does not constitute an endorsement. Gov. Schwarzenegger appeared because he had inserted himself as a major participant in legislative races amid high expectations that Republicans (after unexpectedly gaining three seats in 2002) might add more last year. They did not, and the governor has lost some of his clout, at least with legislative Democrats.

This is all news and, at the risk of stating the obvious, *CPR* exists to convey news as well as opinion.

The differences between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Schwarzenegger are primarily that Wilson went to war against his own party; Schwarzenegger has not. In addition, Wilson showed no loyalty to any principles, even those he publicly adopted as his own: recall his early veto of a "Gay Rights" bill alongside his jamming through the largest state tax increase in American history. He went on to support, then sabotage welfare reform; to oppose judicial activism when judges went after his initiatives, then support activism when engaged in by his appointee, Chief Justice Ron George; late in his career he praised Ronald Reagan, whom, in 1976, he'd called the worst governor California ever had. Jealous of his status as the state's top Republican, he placed sure loser John Seymour in the Senate, effectively handing his old seat to the Democrats who hold it still. He undermined Bob Dole's bid for president, taught Paul Horcher how to sell out principle for personal reward, joined liberals in denouncing legislative conservatives as "cave men" (calling them "f***ing irrelevant"), sought to force conservatives out of the party while spouting about a "big tent," and tried to re-write the state party platform to take positions in direct conflict with those held by the overwhelming majority of Republican activists.

In contrast, Gov. Schwarzenegger has been exactly what he promised to be: a fiscal conservative and social issue liberal. Before the recall, *CPR* sponsored a lively debate on whether or not conservatives should support him: Sen. H.L. Richardson and I urged a vote for Tom McClintock in these pages; William E. Saracino and Ray Haynes urged supporting Schwarzenegger. A full discussion and critique of the governor's positions was involved. Schwarzenegger won the election with large conservative support. Since then, the governor has hosted at least one fund raiser for Mr. McClincock while brushing aside post-recall pressure from Wilsonites that he "punish" Tom (which would have been a typically Wilsonite exercise in shooting his own party in the foot).

CPR has supported Schwarzenegger for setting conservative terms for the fiscal debate in his spending, pension, and merit pay proposals; we have criticized his positions on Prop. 62, "stem cells," and guns. We will continue to welcome the opportunities he helps provide to advance conservative policy and to oppose his support of liberalism. But it would, I think, be a major mistake to think him another Pete Wilson. That, thank God, he is not.

— John Kurzweil

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

our

Spectator is unaware if Da Guv has ever heard of Admiral David Glasgow Farragut (Union naval hero of the battle of Mobile Bay, 1864), but he is certainly following the good admiral's oft' quoted orders: "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!"

Since the circus ... err, Legislature ... returned to town, I've been furiously spectating at public houses, private soirees, toney watering holes, even the dreadful Capitol cafeterias — anywhere two or more political hacks are gathered. The reactions to the governor's agenda and threats of special election initiatives has been exactly the same from both parties and all ideologies: "My God, what if he actually means it?" Republicans say it with a gleam in their eye, Democrats with a hiss and quiver worthy of Dracula confronting a crucifix.

Let me clear up any lingering doubt: the governor and his top political advisors are deadly serious about their four main reforms and about going to the ballot. With full knowledge of the stakes, they have pushed all the chips to the center of the table. They realize this is a make or break battle. Either the governor or the Democrats and their clients will be bruised, battered, and irrelevant this time next year.

We are seeing another advantage of electing a genuine non-(career)-politician: he actually wants to get things done. Arnold Schwarzenegger did not run for governor to build his resume or his personal treasure. And although he can shift maddeningly from the ideas of the right to those of the left, he is, essentially, an "ideologue" in the literal meaning of that word: a man interested in ideas and in advancing them through his public service.

Having endured a terribly frustrating first year, he is determined either to find a way to make changes or be a one-termer and move on to other challenges. Aware of the consequences of both victory and defeat, he is ready, even eager, to fight to win.

The governor's political folks, along with senate and assembly GOP honchos Ackerman and McCarthy, will go through the motions of seeking Democrat legislative support for the governor's reform package. But they see little prospect of the Democrats actually breaking free of their union bosses and tax-eating clients to cooperate in passing any meaningful reforms. They constructed this special interest-serving system and it suits their purposes to a T. The odds for legislative compromise are about the same as those for Shiela Kuehl fitting into a size four dress.

To conservatives worried that the governor will give too much away to get a deal — rest easy. He realizes the Democrats took his pants down in the first year on spending limits and other matters. This is a man used to a business (Hollywood) where handshake deals are sacrosanct. He knows the Democrats lied to him and took advantage of him when he first got to town. It won't happen again.

So both camps are preparing for all-out war, which is exactly what it will be. Given the long-term stakes and the level of resources each side will deploy, "apocalyptic" is perhaps too mild an adjective to use.

Republicans should see this for the opportunity it is, but also appreciate the risks of losing. For the GOP, this is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the governor, leaving intra-party quibbles aside. History will be made, but not by thoes who stand on the sidelines.

—*A. P. C.*

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CBS's continuing forgery fiasco

The network's Blue Ribbon panel somehow never noticed that Dan Rather has a direct political tie to the circle of Texas Democrats from which the forgery came.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

CBS'S BLUE-RIBBON PANEL on Dan Rather's forgery fiasco extended rather than ended it. Instead of exposing the fraud, the panel formed a new one in its final report released in January: that Dan Rather's fabricated National Guard story wasn't influenced by liberal bias. The panel's report contains a heading called "Factors that Support a Conclusion that a Political Agenda Did Not Motivate the September 8 Segment." Without irony the panel listed as one factor, "The Previous Work of Rather and Mapes."

The panel — consisting of a Dan Rather pal, Louis Boccardi, and a tame Republican, Dick Thornburgh — strained at the gnat and swallowed the Democrat donkey. The two-man panel produced more than 200 pages of Columbia Journalism School-style navel-gazing without bothering to mention the salient fact that Dan Rather has a direct political tie to the circle of Texas Democrats from which the forgery came. Nowhere in the report will one find the fact that Dan Rather had helped raised $20,000 for the Travis County Democrats in 2001. David Van Os, the lawyer for Bill Burkett, the crackpot who gave Rather the fabricated documents, is a former chairman of the Travis County Democrats.

Like a Politburo report exonerating a communist bag man, the panel treats Dan Rather's denial of bias as dogmatic proof in his favor: "The Panel asked Rather directly to comment on whether he was motivated in any way by a political animus in pursuing the September 8 Segment. He responded, 'absolutely, unequivocally untrue.'" What did they expect him to say?

But even as they accepted this denial without question they admitted they found Rather's refusal to disavow his fabricated story "troubling." Questioned by the panel, Rather stood by his forgery. And still does.

So what does CBS do? It sends this defender of a forgery back into the field to misreport some more. The report calls the National Guard story "myopic" — a quality on display in the report itself — and a product of "haste." But how could haste explain the scandal when more than 120 days after the story was filed Rather and Mapes still defend it? The problem wasn't haste but appalling judgment, still on display in Rather's refusal to disown the story.

To blame the story on bumbling bureaucracy rather than bias doesn't even square with details contained in the panel's report. It reports, for example, what Mary Mapes wrote when she thought she had George Bush nailed: "Lots of goodies ... we are in pursuit ... as are *Vanity Fair, New York Times, New Republic,* various others." This desire to beat other liberal publications to the punch isn't evidence of liberal bias? And where did CBS hear inklings of the existence of the fabricated documents with which to smear Bush? According to the panel's report, from a website with the banner, "Bush Lied, Americans Died."

AND HOW about the bias revealed in CBS's criterion for determining the credibility of its source for the forgery, Bill Burkett? Mary Mapes had persuaded CBS's vetters to accept the fabricated story because Burkett was a "Texas Republican of a different chromosome" and a "John McCain supporter." This was Mary Mapes's way of saying to CBS vetters: Here's a Republican you guys can trust. According to CBS's mode of thinking, a Republican who criticizes George Bush and supports John McCain must be credible.

By a "Republican of a different chromosome," Mapes didn't mean what Al Gore meant when he said

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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LEGISLATIVE FILE

The Empire strikes back

Sacramento Democrats, taking Republican failure to capture any new legislative seats as a show of cracks in the governor's former supposed invincibility, have declared an in-your-face onslaught of "progressive" (*i.e.,* increasing government power over the people) legislation, including all sorts of no-chance bills passed and vetoed last year.

Gil Cedillo leads the pack with, yet again, driver's licenses for illegal aliens (SB 60). Some Republicans last year doubted the governor's determination to turn back this bad idea. They can rest assured this time. After last year's veto, Cedillo publicly criticized Schwarzenegger, accusing him of deception in negotiations on the bill. This year's Cedillo charge will be no more than whipping a dead and buried horse.

Resurrecting another bad, old idea, Sheila Kuehl announced plans for no-holds-barred socialized medicine in California (SB 2). Kuehl has not unveiled the full measure, but in recent interviews makes it clear this will be full statewide government-controlled healthcare much like Hillary Clinton's 1993 national effort. The Kuehl onslaught comes on the heels, and flies in the face, of public rejection of Proposition 72, the November referendum on a John Burton scheme, signed by Governor Gray Davis in 2003, to force employers to buy health insurance for their employees whether they want it or not.

Anti-family Assemblywoman Rebecca Cohn, who seems to see every marriage as a battering husband/domestic violence tragedy waiting to happen, evidently plans a full slate of legal "protections" for women that, if they become law, can most likely be counted on to bring more divorce, more husbands driven to walking away from their families, more family nest-eggs liquidated to finance endless court battles, more wives plunged into poverty, more bitterness, and more children growing up in broken homes.

Cohn also plans related "child protection" bills that will fan fears of "child abuse" to justify increased state interference between parents and their kids. And finally, as presumably her ultimate statement of concern for "the children," she plans to carry Planned Parenthood's annual resolution "celebrating" *Roe v. Wade* (AJR 3) — death: what surer way to defend little ones against abuse?

Senator Martha Escutia is once again obsessing over the fat content of the diets of California's children (SB 12). Banning sales of so-called junk food in schools has been Escutia's cause for several years, one that has met with mixed success. Her Party embraces it as an excuse to call for increased power to dictate how people will live (you won't hear consideration, for instance, of parental discipline or self-restraint by the nanny-caucus in its deliberations on children's diets).

The serious battle underlying the ideological fantasy is the struggle to see whether the left-wing Legislature or the governor will sieze the initiative and set the tone of public debate in 2005. A more battle-hardened Schwarzenegger is likely to veto most of the nonsense sent to him. But he must also keep the public focus on his and his Party's efforts to bring California government under control while diminishing incentives and deflating the forces driving the state toward socialism. CPR

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that conservative Republicans have an "extra chromosome." She meant that Burkett was a Republican who thinks along the same lines as CBS reporters.

Panel member Dick Thornburgh apparently fits into the category of a Republican of a different chromosome. He was the toothless Republican CBS needed to give its white-wash a patina of fairness. Lou Boccardi added another paint layer of "respectability." This veteran of bias-denying panels had performed the same service for the *New York Times* after the Jayson Blair debacle by contributing to a report that insisted affirmative action played no role in that scandal.

But while Boccardi and Thornburgh are skeptical to the point of stupidity on the question of CBS's political bias, they demonstrate no such skepticism when dismissing those who first exposed the forgery as "bloggers with a conservative agenda." CBS's panel feels free to muse on the motives of Rather's critics while interpreting his motives in the most generous light possible.

Were bloggers and conservative journalists "partisan" in coverage of the forgery? Yes, partial to the truth. Why is partiality to the truth the only form of partisanship the old media won't practice? CBS's blue-ribbon panelists can turn up their noses at conservatives, but the fact is they ferreted out a forgery liberal partisans faked up — and CBS's unpunished star reporter still won't admit it.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

A pantheistic press corps doesn't know what to say about a natural disaster. Desperately trying to find a pious posture on the tsunami catastrophe in January — while making sure to jack up their ratings with the "most trusted news on TV"-style promos — the media had to fall back on finger-pointing, compassion-contest baiting, and Bush-bashing. But the habitual chiding of Bush came with a novel and hypocritical

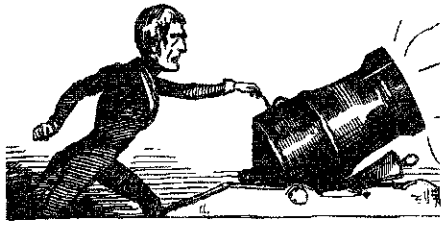
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Five members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors voted to place on their 2005 November ballot an initiative ordinance asking the voters to ban completely the private possession of handguns, including in their homes or businesses. The Board cites a spiraling increase of crime in the city and they believe that legally-owned handguns are to blame for their crime-wave. They imply that citizens should not be trusted with firearms because they are far more likely to hurt themselves than to defend themselves. And they shouldn't worry about it anyway because the police will protect them from crime.

Here's a message to all residents of "Baghdad by the Bay": the Police will *not* protect you as individuals. The federal courts have ruled that "a government and its agents are under no general duty to provide public services, such as police protection, to any particular individual citizen" and that "the duty to provide public service is owed to the public at large, and, absent a special relationship between the police and an individual, no specific legal duty exits." You're on your own as far as the courts are concerned.

Why are San Fran's Supes doing this? Because they are radically liberal dunderheads who act without reference to logic and reality. They act on sheer emotion. But it isn't that they are naïve. They know the truth; they just don't care. For instance, they know lawful citizens use firearms successfully to defend themselves hundreds, if not thousands, of times a year in The City — even former-U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno admitted she knew this is true countrywide. The Board knows it is asking the citizens to vote for an initiative that violates the state's preemption statue on the subject of regulating and registering firearms. They know the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and, now, the National Academy of Sciences have both found that *no* benefit results from restricting guns. But they don't care.



And, sadly, they don't care that many citizens will become crime victims. They know crime rates are skyrocketing in Washington, D.C., the nation's only city with a total handgun ban — they just don't care. This is anti-thinking. If it prevails in San Francisco, look for it to spread throughout California. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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twist: journalists castigated the president for not unilaterally intervening in the affairs of countries the press normally call "sovereign." If human disasters don't merit American leadership in the media's mind, why should natural ones?

During Saddam Hussein's genocide, the American media demanded that Bush follow the world. During the tsunami disaster they demanded he lead it. Which is it? Do they want America to lead or follow? If aiding Iraqis was "patronizing," why was aiding Indonesians with massive military and financial assistance compulsory?

Judging by the censorious coverage one would think the Indonesians (and others affected) were U.S. citizens whom George Bush refused to help. But imagine if Bush, a year ago, had told Indonesia and other Muslim countries to establish an early warning system against natural disasters. The multiculturalists in the press would have rebuked him for imposing Western norms on "native cultures."

The nature-worshippers in the press, uncomfortable grappling with the meaning of natural disasters, had to find someone to blame for the tsunami. Reluctant to blame it on nature, they blamed it on human nature: corrupt politicians didn't do enough to prepare for the natural disaster. But if nature were as blind and unintelligent as they suppose, wouldn't it make more sense to rage against it than revere it? The evolutionists in the press propose what amounts to an unintelligent design theory of nature. Were their theory true, it would be grounds for hating nature as a series of cruel transformations. Can you love nature and hate human nature and God? Many environmentalists in the press think so, but they fail to explain why nature is lovable in that event. Why not hate nature too?

The fundamental reason for understanding and appreciating nature is a reason most environmentalists deny: God. Nature reflects his intelligence and what appears naturally evil to man — such as tsunamis — isn't evil but necessary to the functioning of a dynamic universe. If a bewildered Job had asked God, Why do you permit tsunamis? He might have answered, Without them you wouldn't have a universe at all.

If the media really wanted to blame human nature for the tsunami, they could. But that would back them into a Pauline explanation they'd never endorse. Regarding man as sinless — with the exception of conservatives they dislike here and there — liberals won't join St. Paul in attributing man's inability to live in harmony with nature to Original Sin, which meant man would no longer control nature, starting with the inevitable death of his human nature. Original Sin meant that man would need an ark of Salvation which Noah prefigured and Jesus Christ fulfilled.

The media did volunteer Bill Clinton as Noah and the United Nations as the Ark. Clinton and Kofi Annan hammered away at an ark of secular salvation before the glare of the media's cameras, then sent it off to the Indian Ocean, where it will most likely sink under greed and celebrity compassion. CPR

ON CAMPUS

Pro-Americanism: A Psychological Disorder

An unsuspecting student leaves one citadel of indoctrination in the Middle East only to find another in American academia.

MICHAEL P. DAVIDSON

Let's play pretend. Imagine sitting in a desk at an institution of higher learning. Pretend you are about to write an essay in your Introduction to American Government and Politics course, and the prompt is ....

> Dye and Zeigler contend that the constitution of the United States was not 'ordained and established' by 'the people' as we have so often been led to believe. They contend instead that it was written by a small, educated, and wealthy elite in America who were representative of powerful economic and political interests. Analyze the U.S. constitution (original document), and show how its formulation excluded the majority of the people liv-

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ing in America at that time, and how it was dominated by America's elite interest.

NOTICE HOW the language of the prompt is constructed: it doesn't ask you to demonstrate knowledge of their thesis and analyze its merits. That kind of question would be credible and academic. Rather, Dye and Zeigler are presupposed to be correct, that the foundation of our country's sacred document is tainted. It attempts to deconstruct any sentiments of pro-Americanism. The question is brainwashing in a bad disguise.

At any rate, it is not about semantics. Obviously, the prompt is just another manifestation of gross bias in academe.

So, what would be your response? Of course under normal circumstances you might immediately refute the thesis and challenge the presumption. But caution would set in: you need a good grade. Personally, to be tactful, knowing that my professor is probably a leftist, I would demonstrate my knowledge of their thesis, and then disagree respectfully with facts to support my case. Any reasonable professor would respect that, right? (Yet any reasonable professor wouldn't supply a prompt like that in the first place. And academia offers few reasonable professors.)

This and more happened to my friend, Ahmed Al-Qloushi, a 17-year-old Kuwaiti Arab Muslim studying at Foothill College in the Bay Area. He's often cracking jokes, and speaks very good English. About a year ago, he emailed me out of nowhere to encourage me to keep up the campaign for President Bush.

Through the course of our email exchanges, he told me he was three years old in 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait. He wrote about the experiences his parents shared with him, such as using oil lamps to keep things lit because the electricity was out and waiting in long lines to purchase bread. Two of his uncles experienced severe trauma after being kidnapped and tortured in Iraqi prisons. His one-week-old baby cousin died when Iraqi soldiers stole incubators from hospitals.

To be honest, I first thought Ahmad was one of those random spam emails that say they are former refugee diplomats from Rwanda or South Africa or somewhere who need money. Writing from Kuwait, his initial email was more personal than others, and he didn't ask for anything, so I replied. After President Reagan passed away, Ahmad emailed me to extend his sympathies, and it was then that I knew he was the real deal. We got to know one another, and he informed me that he planned to study at Foothill College in the fall of 2004. Naturally, I recruited him to get involved in the College Republicans, and now he's chairman of the Foothill College Republicans.

I warned him that academia would superficially embrace a young Arab Muslim student, but once they knew he was a lover of freedom, a lover of America, they would marginalize him as they do everyone who declines to subscribe to their leftist dogma. And that they did.

Like many young students, Ahmad approached college with an open mind and a thirst for knowledge. But he was especially zealous about learning of the

Recent University of California, Berkeley, graduate Michael P. Davidson is serving his second term as state chairman of the California College Republicans (www.collegegop.org).

Bias? No, it could not be!

Some folks still are in a lather
O'er the whitewash of Dan Rather
By Dick Thornburgh and Boccardi
Who somehow claim they cannot see
Any bias in Rather's smear
Of President Bush's guard career.
Mistakes and sloppy works, of course
And lack by Rather of remorse,
But bias? No. It could not be.
His motive? Just a good story.
A story, though, with phony "facts,"
Enough to give four folks the axe.
But not Dan Rather. CBS
Admits he's mixed up in this mess,
But still they thinks that he should stay.
They're wrong. This stink won't go away.
Dan Rather, once a shining light
On CBS is now a blight.

— by Joy Skilmer*

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available at both Barnes and Noble.com and Amazon.com and from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www.lynnofziger.com*

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American political system, its guiding principles, its founding, and its rich history. But what he received was a barrage of leftist propaganda. The tension between his view of America and the view of leftist academia reached its apogee when Professor Woolcock assigned the essay topic mentioned at the top of this column. Ahmad read the United States Constitution before he even came to America and was offended by the premise of the essay prompt. He reminisced to being back in high school, studying in Kuwait. His Palestinian, America-hating teachers attempted to brainwash him in a similar fashion. Ahmed left one citadel of indoctrination in the Middle East only to find, unfortunately, another in American academia. The spokes changed but the tire was still flat.

Of course, Ahmad refuted the premise of the essay prompt. In his paper, he discussed how elites of the time were the aristocratic monarchies dominating most of Europe, and that the U.S. Constitution repudiated and undermined their political philosophies. He went on to show how our constitution ultimately is a "pioneering" document bringing freedom not just to America but also well beyond its borders, including to his corner of the globe, the Middle East. Essentially, he wrote a cogently pro-American essay, inducing an apoplectic fit in his professor. We probably should have warned Ahmad to be careful about how he communicated his love of freedom and America.

Instead of writing a grade on his paper, Professor Woolcock instructed Ahmad to visit the professor's office, at which time his essay and he personally were accosted. The professor went on to tell Ahmad that his "views are irrational," that he is "naïve," and that he needs "regular psychotherapy."

THIS JUST IN: loving America is a new psychological disorder! The professor went on to threaten to visit the dean of International Admissions to discuss psychological treatment for Ahmad. The dean of International Admissions has the power to revoke student visas. Understandably, Ahmad was frightened.

The poor kid had an implicit threat of deportation and was told he's psychologically dysfunctional all for writing a pro-American essay!

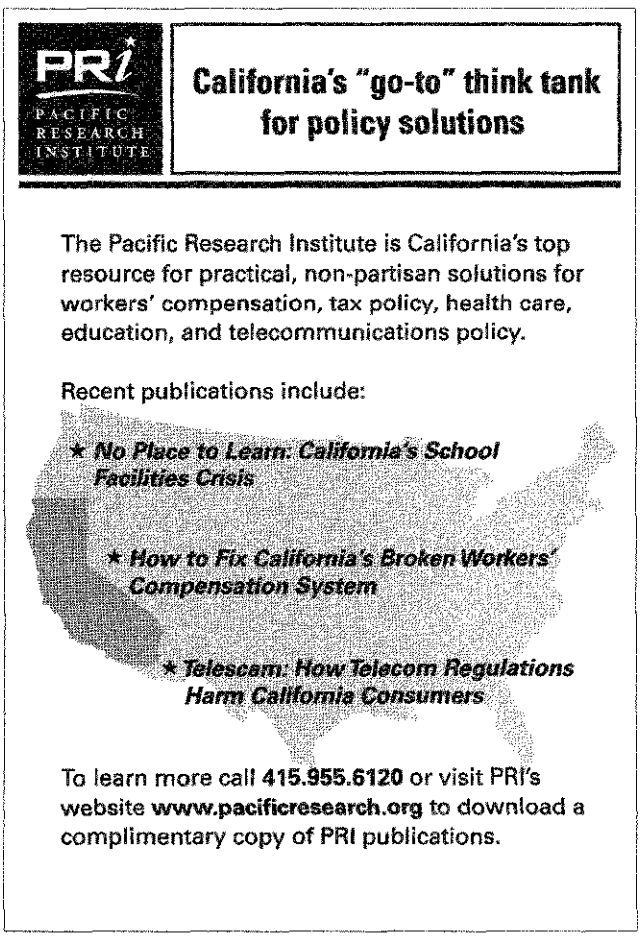
Since he didn't want deportation, he actually made an appointment with the school psychologist. The psychologist apparently had a better understanding of how the mind works and told Ahmad that he's just fine.

The sad thing is that after leaving the psychologist, Ahmad remembered that his Palestinian teachers never told him he needed therapy. The good thing is that after conferring with his College Republican friends and using the organization to fight back, Ahmad went to the press and media and has since hit the talk radio circuit, writing a piece for *FrontPageMag.Com*, and being interviewed on two nationally-syndicated news programs.

The professor was taken aback by the backlash, so he filed a grievance with Foothill College against Ahmad as "an act or threat of intimidation or general harassment." He apparently felt harassed that Ahmad mentioned his name to the media. I know; it's strange.

And that's the lunacy in which the future of America is educated. I wonder if Professor Woolcock thinks that John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison's Federalist Papers reflected some sort of irrationality, naïveté, or psychological dysfunction of the authors. Actually, no, I don't want to know what Professor Woolcock thinks.

The one who needs therapy here is not the America-loving teenage Arab Muslim. Contrary to the opinion of the left, loving America is not a psychological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disorder. Loving America and the freedom it represents is, well, an American virtue that even foreigners can experience. The ones who need therapy here are loony leftie professors like Woolcock. CPR

THE LAW

The ongoing anti-Boy Scout *jihad*

Although California historically has been among Scouting's strongest supporters, the Golden State is now the scene of Scout-haters' highest-profile campaigns.

HAROLD JOHNSON

OVER THE YEARS, California has offered the Boy Scouts of America an especially friendly environment. Not only have tens of thousands of California boys donned a Scout uniform since the founding of the Scouts nearly a century ago, but the state has long been one of the largest reservoirs of financial backing for the organization. Californians' appreciation for the good work that the Scouts do in building character, imparting values, and providing opportunities for recreation and friendship-building for boys, can be seen in the official recognition that has been accorded the Scouts by state lawmakers. No fewer than 12 code sections in California law specifically single out the Scouts for supportive treatment.

The Education Code, for example, says that school administrators "shall" make school facilities available to the Boy Scouts (along with the Girl Scouts, Camp Fire, and similar nonprofits), when other meeting locations aren't available. The 1998 Juvenile and Gang Violence Prevention, Detention, and Public Protection Act makes provision for financial grants to the Boy Scouts (along with other youth service organizations). And the Government Code prohibits localities from imposing higher fees on the Scouts, or similar youth organizations, for use of public recreation areas.

Given this pro-Scout orientation in California society and California law, it is ironic that the Golden State is the place where anti-Scout forces are waging their highest-profile campaigns. Legal observers – and the Scouts' friends (and enemies) around the country – have their eyes on two cases that are now before courts in California. At issue in both: May the Scouts be punished, by being subjected to legal disabilities, for the "offense" of embracing old-fashioned values?

Evans v. Berkeley, currently before the state Supreme Court, is a challenge to the city of Berkeley's intolerant treatment of the Sea Scouts, an affiliate of the Boy Scouts that offers training in sailing. Berkeley has singled out the local Sea Scouts chapter for exclusion from a city program offering free use of the Berkeley Marina to nonprofit organizations. Because of the financial hit, activities have had to be cut back for the multiracial group of two dozen teenagers, led by a high-school teacher who has served as "skipper" of the Berkeley Sea Scouts for many years.

AFTER THE First District Court of Appeal upheld Berkeley's punitive policy, a majority of the Supreme Court's justices voted to take the case for review. Berkeley defends its second-class treatment of the Sea Scouts by labeling the larger Boy Scout organization "discriminatory," because the Scout oath acknowledges a duty to God, and Scout leadership policies hold that being "morally straight" means foreswearing sex outside of marriage, including homosexual activity. Never mind that the Berkeley Sea Scouts signed a pledge to abide by all city laws and regulations (including anti-discrimination rules). That wasn't good enough for City Hall. The mere fact that the Sea Scouts retain ties with the Boy Scouts makes them culprits in the city's eyes.

As a City Council member explained to *The Wash-*

Harold Johnson, a contributing editor and an attorney with the Sacramento-based Pacific Legal Foundation, represents one of the petitioners in Evans v. Berkeley *before the California Supreme Court.*

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ington Times, "if the Sea Scouts were separate and not a part of a discriminatory group, then they would be sitting pretty." So the Sea Scouts are being penalized for exercising their constitutionally-protected right to ally themselves with one of the most venerable youth-service organizations in America.

For its part, the larger Boy Scouts organization is in the cross hairs because it won't exchange its traditional beliefs for a new creed scripted by enlightened bureaucrats. The city's belittling of the Scouts' stand shows contempt for fundamental freedoms. What the city is denouncing as "discrimination" the Boy Scouts understand in a wholly different way, as a sharing of core beliefs as articles of membership.

When bureaucrats denigrate a private, belief-based organization's membership policies as "discrimination," they're misusing the word. Harvard Law School Professor Laurence Tribe writes that what is really happening in such cases is a "direct clash of competing images of 'the good life.' And in such a clash, the teaching of the First Amendment has long been that the state loses." ("Disentangling Symmetries: Speech, Association, Parenthood," 28 Pepp.L. Rev. 641, 2001). As Tribe puts it, "one man's discrimination is another's expression of a moral view" — a view that, by definition, enjoys First Amendment protection.

That includes protection from government retribution, for one thing. For the state to impose legal disabilities on an organization because it insists on defining its own belief system and tailoring membership policies accordingly is a sure way to chill constitutional rights. In other words, when an anti-discrimination law is imposed in a way that punishes or prohibits a private, expressive organization's belief system, that statute becomes — in that context — an "anti-First Amendment" law. This was the teaching of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Boy Scouts v. Dale* (2000), which exempted the Scouts from New Jersey's anti-discrimination law because the Scouts' leadership rules reflected core convictions.

Hence the challenge for the state Supreme Court in the *Evans* case: to remind Berkeley officials of the importance of the First Amendment — and that government cannot discriminate against individuals or groups simply because they do not choose the path of political correctness or because they're affiliated with organizations that aren't politically correct.

IN THE FEDERAL COURTS, First Amendment rights are also at stake in the San Diego case of *Boy Scouts v. Barnes-Wallace,* now before the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The Scouts are appealing the startling decision by San Diego U.S. District Judge Napoleon A. Jones Jr. to void the Scouts' longtime, low-cost lease of city property at San Diego's Balboa Park and on Fiesta Island in Mission Bay Park.

Barnes-Wallace illustrates vividly the importance of the news that, finally, U.S. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist has announced that if Democrats filibuster against the presidential judicial nominations expected to come to the floor in February, he will ask for a ruling that Senate rules require only a simple majority vote to end debate on judicial nominations. Frist will need the concurrence of just 51 Senators, after which the Senate will vote up-or-down on nominees. The president plans to renominate those men and women, if they are willing, blocked during the first term, a list that includes Priscilla Owen, William Pryor, Henry Saad, and California's Janice Brown. Democrat liberals fear these highly qualified nominees because they are judges who respect

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the rule of law, a standard that does not support the liberal assault on the Boy Scouts.

Which brings us back to Judge Jones. In siding with the American Civil Liberties Union, which brought the *Barnes-Wallace* lawsuit as part of its nationwide campaign against the Scouts, Jones held that the Scouts are a "religious" organization and "discriminatory" to boot, so San Diego shouldn't be giving it no-bid access to public property. An important fact was overlooked: The Scouts' lease is one of dozens that the city has made available to nonprofits, both secular and religiously oriented. How can it be said that San Diego is unconstitutionally "endorsing" or "advancing" religion when its property leases cover the entire spectrum of nonprofits, from the Girl Scouts to a Jewish Community Center; from a Korean Church to the Boys and Girls Clubs?

U.S. Supreme Court precedents such as *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984) (allowing a Nativity scene on public property because it was surrounded by nonreligious holiday displays), run contrary to the San Diego ruling. The city's property leases must be looked at in their entirety, as a lush pluralistic forest. The District Court focused on a single tree, the city's arrangement with the Scouts, as if no larger context existed.

Judge Jones threw in a gratuitous insult, calling the Scouts "anti-homosexual." Here, too, he was straying from U.S. Supreme Court precedent. The New Jersey Supreme Court's assertion that the Scouts' ban on homosexual leaders is based "on little more than prejudice" was struck down in *Dale* in 2000.

THE SCOUTS' legal woes aren't confined to San Diego and Berkeley. The ACLU and other anti-Scout bigots are like an evil twin of the Energizer Bunny: always pushing forward with new strategies to force the Scouts to surrender their principles or to pummel them if they don't. An ACLU lawsuit tries to exclude the Scouts from military installations; politicians in Connecticut and Portland, Oregon, among other places, have frozen them out of work-place charity fund-raising programs for government employees. But between them, the two California cases encapsulate all the constitutional questions raised by the Scout-haters' ceaseless crusade, so observers across the nation are watching.

The Scouts deserve thanks for their tenacity in these courtroom clashes. They are standing up for their own First Amendment freedoms — and everyone else's as well. CPR

THOSE IN POWER OVER US

ESA finally meets the Fifth Amendment

A for-once rational court ruling combined with a Bush Administration agreement to settle may signal a new 'people friendly' era under the Endangered Species Act.

M. DAVID STIRLING

"... nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

— Fifth Amendment, U.S. Constitution

LAST DECEMBER, the Bush administration quietly settled a landmark lawsuit involving a federal trial court judgment that the government's enforcement of the Endangered Species Act (ESA) had violated the constitutionally-protected property rights of farmers in California's Central Valley. The judge had ordered the government to pay $26 million in damages, including interest, for the undelivered water; under the settlement, the government agreed to pay $16.7 million. Even though settlement of a trial court judgment is not precedent-setting (only appellate court decisions establish precedent), we now have, for the first time since ESA became law, a court ruling that government's ESA enforcement triggers the Fifth Amendment's "just compensation" provision.

In the 31 years since the act became law, owners de-

M. David Stirling (mds@pacificlegal.org) is vice president of Pacific Legal Foundation (www.pacificlegal.org), a Sacramento-based public interest legal organization that has defended private property rights for more than 30 years. PLF's brief in the Tulare Lake Basin *case urged the Fifth Amendment rationale the Court adopted in its judgment.*

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Environmentalists' real concern is that neither government funds nor taxpayer patience exist in sufficient supply to pay private property owners every time the federal government 'takes' property under the ESA.

nied use of their property through ESA enforcement have filed numerous lawsuits charging the government with taking private property for public use (*i.e.*, species protection) and seeking "just compensation" under the Fifth Amendment. Their claims seem clearly to be supported by the act itself. Congress declared in its "findings" incorporated into the ESA — Section 2(a)(3) — that endangered or threatened "species of fish, wildlife, and plants are of aesthetic, ecological, educational, historical, recreational, and scientific value to the Nation and its people." Yet, despite this unambiguous statement of ESA's purpose as serving a "public use," no federal agency and no federal court — until now — has ever recognized ESA enforcement as serving a public use, or that the regulation of private property under ESA is a "taking" under the Fifth Amendment, or that the government should pay damaged property owners "just compensation."

At the heart of this case (*Tulare Lake Basin Water Storage District v. United States)* is the federal government's Central Valley Water Project and California's State Water Project – the natural and man-made systems of dams, reservoirs, pumping stations, and aqueducts that transport water from Northern California through the Central Valley to Southern California. For nearly 50 years, the federal and state water projects have contracted with locally-created water districts in the agriculture-based Central Valley to distribute the water to hundreds of farmers to irrigate their crops. Under these contracts, the water districts collect the farmers' payments for the water they use and forward the payments on to the federal and state governments.

During drought conditions in 1992, the National Marine Fisheries Service determined that continued distribution of water from the federal and state water projects to water districts and Central Valley farmers for irrigation was threatening the survival of the winter-run chinook salmon and the delta smelt. Based on that determination and an established presumption that ESA was to be enforced "whatever the cost" (on which, see below), federal and state water projects, for the next three years, halved the annual water allocation to the districts and farmers, and doubled the annual charge the districts and farmers paid for the water.

The water users filed suit against the federal government alleging that the reduction of water was a "taking" of private property under the Fifth Amendment that entitled them to compensation for their losses caused when the water was not delivered. The court ruling that the federal government had taken the water districts' and farmers' property stated:

> The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution concludes with the phrase: "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." The purpose of that clause is [quoting a U.S. Supreme Court decision] "to bar Government from forcing some people alone to bear public burdens which, in all fairness and justice, should be borne by the public as a whole." ... The federal government is certainly free to preserve the fish; it must simply pay for the water it takes to do so.

In the debate over ESA between the defenders of private property rights and those who advance the dominant power of government, the champions of individual rights argue that even though Congress preserved fish, wildlife, and plant species for everyone's benefit, *i.e.*, "for public use," ESA enforcement leaves individual property owners with species-preservation losses uncompensated, forcing them to pay disproportionately for a program benefiting everyone. Under the Fifth Amendment, they say, public tax revenues should compensate them for their losses.

Although this argument may seem straightforwardly persuasive, even uncontroversial, it runs directly against the entire history of ESA enforcement. That is what makes the trial court ruling and the Bush administration's settlement so important.

Congress's enactment of the Endangered Species Act in 1973 authorized "the use of all methods and procedures which are necessary" to restore and preserve endangered or threatened species. The first Supreme Court decision to consider ESA — *Tennessee Valley Authority v. Hill* (1979) — held that Congress designed the act to "halt and reverse the trend toward species extinction, *whatever the cost*" (author's emphasis). From that time on, ESA has been enforced by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Marine Fisheries Service, and interpreted by federal

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courts, as the nation's most dominant and least assailable federal statute. (While courts have ruled even parts of the 9/11 Patriot Act unconstitutional, they have fully upheld and consistently enforced ESA's provisions for more than 30 years.)

Under ESA, when federal enforcement agencies "list" a species as endangered or threatened, or designate land as "critical habitat" for a species, an affected property owner whose activity deliberately or accidentally harms the species or its habitat is subject to civil or criminal penalties, including heavy fines and even imprisonment. Furthermore, neither Fish and Wildlife nor Marine Fisheries will grant property owners permits to improve or modify land designated as habitat without imposing burdensome conditions and costly mitigation procedures. Because of these heavy burdens hanging over property owners, California's 200 ESA-protected species of fish, wildlife, and plants (second only to Hawaii's 300 protected species) have effectively rendered millions of acres of privately-owned land largely unusable by the owners.

The environmental activists, government environmental enforcement bureaucrats, and elected officials who drive the "species-first, people-last" agenda, have been largely successful in court for more than 30 years in keeping ESA enforcement out from under Fifth Amendment protections of individual rights. It was no surprise that they opposed the Bush Administration's *Tulare Lake Basin* settlement, urging instead that the Administration appeal the court's judgment. Even Senator Dianne Feinstein expressed concern that a precedent requiring the government to pay property owners for losses they suffered due to government-imposed environmental regulation "would vastly increase public expenditures."

Their real concern is that neither government funds nor taxpayer patience exist in sufficient supply to pay private property owners every time the federal government "takes" property under the ESA. They fear the government will have to moderate, *i.e.* balance, its regulatory enforcement approach so that people's lives, livelihoods, and property rights receive as much consideration as the species.

Thomas Jefferson foresaw the coming of laws like ESA when he warned that "the natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground." With that in mind, the framers of the Constitution and Bill of Rights strove mightily to give "We the People of the United States" lasting protection from government domination. More than 200 years later, this "natural progress" of government to take power from the people has proven to be a relentless aggressor, justifying Jefferson's warning and the Founding Fathers' efforts to mitigate what James Madison called "the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power."

It is difficult to say whether the Bush Administration settled in *Tulare Lake Basin* to avoid the binding precedent an appeal might have brought or because the Administration agreed with the court's ruling. But whatever the reason, new ground has been broken, and the federal government's heavy-handed ESA enforcement may become more "people-friendly." CPR

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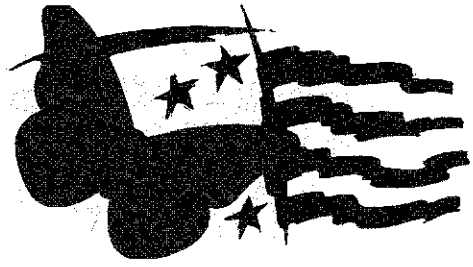

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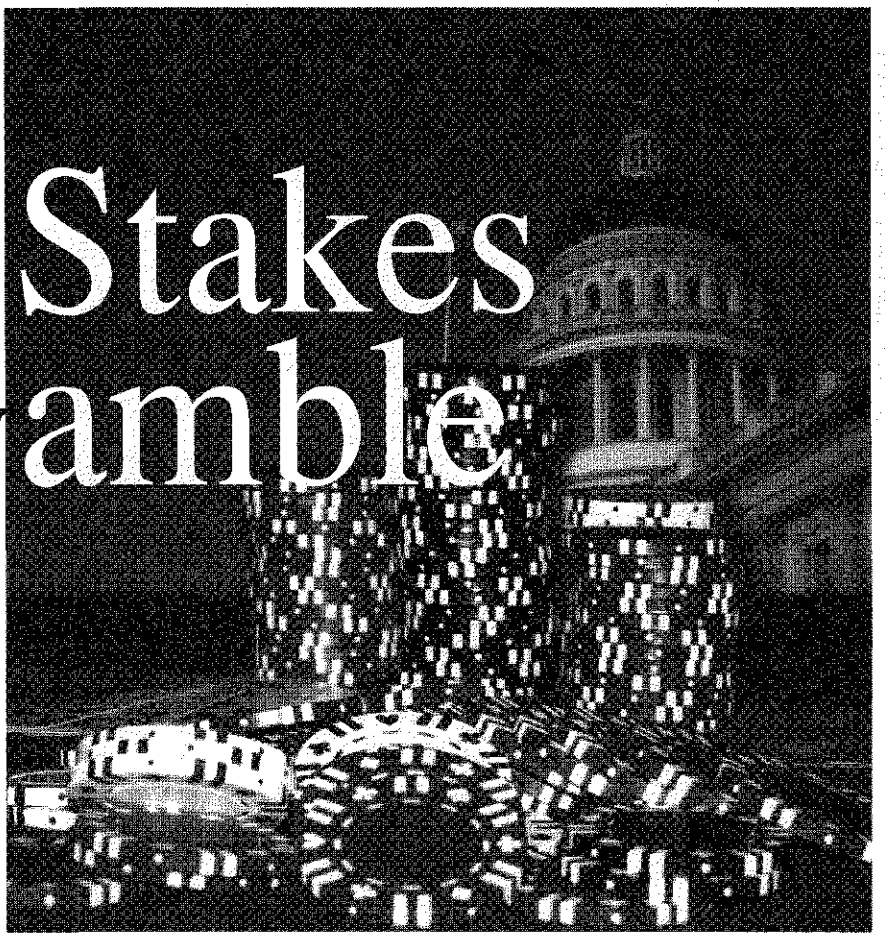
High Stakes Gamble

The Governor and the Legislature play for all the chips



The Schwarzenegger magic, Big Labor money, New Media vs. Old. In 2005, all the factors will be in play. CPR's experts survey the field.

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How are California's political forces situated to engage in what many knowledgeable observers expect to be a watershed election next fall — one with the potential to leave the governor, who is spearheading a package of initiative reforms, a lame duck if he loses, or, if voters pass even some of the expected ballot measures, to overturn what has been the state's dominant power structure for the past three decades? California Political Review *asked a panel of experts to comment on some of the strategic and tactical factors that will be poured into the all out war for California's political future shaping up for 2005: factors in the media, in big labor, in the business community, in the Republican Party, and in grass roots organization.*

ROGER HEDGECOCK — THE NEW MEDIA

The success of the Gray Davis recall is the reason Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger believes he can leap over the public employee labor unions, the liberal media, the trial lawyers – the whole phalanx of liberal interest groups that control the state legislature – and appeal directly to the voters. The success of the recall hinged entirely on a mass of volunteers mobilized by talk radio and empowered by the Internet. For example, former legislator Howard Kaloogian was the first to point out that the overhead to produce and distribute recall petitions could be cut drastically by downloading them instead of mailing them. The daily pounding of Gray Da-

Roger Hedgecock hosts a highly rated political talk show on AM 600 KOGO in San Diego. A former San Diego mayor, he often sits in for Rush Limbaugh. He is author of America's Finest City: If We Say it Enough, We'll Believe it; Fight City Hall And Win; *and* The Airport Answer.

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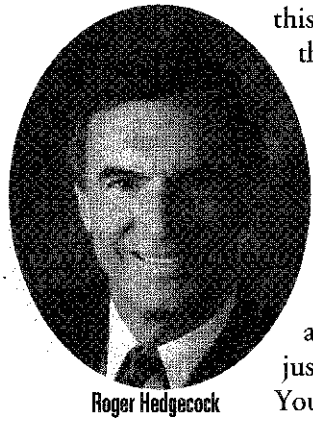
vis by eight or nine talk show hosts from Sacramento and San Francisco to LA and San Diego first showed that the petition drive could be successful. Then, Darrell Issa put it over the top with his paid petitioners in a significantly reduced time frame. Both political parties, the rest of the media and every political "expert" was blindsided by this entirely new political power and its success in the recall. The popular discontent that fueled the recall was not new but the New Media's ability to inform, focus, and mobilize that popular discontent into specific action was new.

This is the model I believe Schwarzenegger will pursue this year to change California in ways that will last beyond his term of office.

REDISTRICTING

The most important change he proposes is redistricting reform to get rid of incumbents locked into districts where they can't lose. Term limits mean incumbents aren't around forever as they once were, but defeat-proof districts still mean incumbents don't answer to the public; they answer to an arbitrary bell going off — six years, for example, for assemblymen. Then they run for the senate in the same sort of district, again not answerable to the public. Then the bell rings and they're out. That's not representative democracy, which is supposed to reflect the will of the people.

People say this issue is too arcane to pass. When I hear that I know it's one they don't want touched, as in: "You can never understand Social Security, so don't dare touch it." It's true past attempts have lost, perhaps because, according to the adage, if you don't understand something, vote no. But this is another opportunity for the new media to explain what the major media will not and political campaigns, with limited opportunity to talk to people, cannot. Avenues now exist for daily, in-depth explanations of even such arcane subjects as redistricting, and they are being used to do just that.


Roger Hedgecock

You hear it if you listen to Melanie Morgan, to John and Ken, to Eric Hogue in Sacramento, to me and Rick Roberts in San Diego. We talk about what's important about redistricting, about the issues it raises that show its importance. We talk, for instance, about whether it is, as liberals charge, a partisan, Republican attempt to grab power. I think Republicans would pick up seats, but they would also find themselves competitive in seats that are now safely Republican. It may be that liberal Democrat legislators would outnumber conservative Republicans even if California had free and fair elections. But if we're calling for free and fair elections around the world in places like Afghanistan and Iraq, we ought to have them here. The point is to have competitive legislative districts so legislators are answerable to the voters.

This is a good government issue, a moderate's issue — a level playing field and fairness issue that everybody should seize upon, the sort of thing coalitions are built upon. Yes, it's an arcane subject, but the result of that arcane subject is: your democracy is shackled; it's gone. And the public already knows that. How many times have you heard a voter say, "I don't think my vote counts"? In the case of the state Legislature, they're absolutely right. By the way, this is the one reform the governor brought up that the *L.A. Times* editorial board supported. That's a shocker. That means it could bring a statewide realignment, picking up even the old media giving Schwarzenegger a success that would be seen not as the usual partisan or ideological divide, but by everyone as a positive.

I see redistricting as the foundation for what Schwarzenegger is trying to build: an opportunity society, a more free society, with more choice in politics as well as in other things. The model of the recall, using the Internet, bloggers, talk radio, and the interactivity among them, is the political basis on which he could get this done. Redistricting reform has failed at an arcane, philosophical, academic level that nobody understands. But Schwarzenegger doesn't live at that level. He lives at the common person level, which is also the level of the New Media.

MERIT PAY

The second biggest reform that hits a nerve in my listeners is education. If you put this on the ballot — that good teachers ought to be paid a lot of money and bad teachers ought to be fired; and that most of the money should go into the classroom and not to education bureaucrats, you'd have 90 percent support. This isn't a liberal state or a conservative state on that issue. It's a worried state: a state of parents apoplectic about the low quality of their kids' education, demanding better, and not getting it because the bureaucracy tells them you'll get what we give you; shut-up and accept it. Here again, the New Media will play a role. If Schwarzenegger had tried to do this in 1985

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instead of 2005, he'd have had nowhere to go except the editorial boards of the liberal papers and television stations. They would have been inclined to say, "Well, the teachers don't like this, so how can you like it?" The unions would simply wrap him up and spit him out like they did previous governors.

But in 2005 he has an absolutely new weapon to say in public what people have been saying privately: "How come my kid doesn't know how to read and write in the fifth grade? Why can't he do simple mathematics? What is this business about it hurts his self-esteem to memorize the times tables?" At the dinner table, my father said what's 8 times 8?, and I better come up with the right answer — 64 — or I immediately had to do some more work on it. In other words, people remember when education worked and wonder why it doesn't now. They want answers. If Schwarzenegger says good teachers ought to get a lot of pay, bad teachers ought to be fired, curriculum ought to be toughened up, tests ought to be passed, and our kids ought to be the best, he'll have solid, overwhelming support.

SPENDING CONTROL

Spending control is number three. Average people — a lot of whom I talk to every day on the radio — aren't much interested in artificial equations to restrain spending. They want to know how efficiently the state is spending their money — in education, in road repair, at the DMV, in health care, in a whole host of things. Everywhere they look, it seems the money is wasted. They want Schwarzenegger to blow up the boxes, fire all the intermediate bureaucrats, so we can start talking about the quality of state service.

With that kind of vocabulary, the liberals will be blown away because they're defending the indefensible. They're defending bureaucracies and Stalinist directives and low quality service and long lines and all the rest. You have Gray Davis standing up at the Foothill Freeway ribbon cutting saying this is the last freeway we're going to build. Everybody said: "What? It is? Wait a minute." Schwarzenegger has pushed a button at the common sense level beyond politics and the usual insiders' debate. He says to the people: Yes, I came here as an outsider. Here's what's wrong. Here's what we need to do to correct it. Here's what it's going to get you.

PENSION REFORM

I don't think legislators realize what's happening. They're like those people on vacation at Phuket, playing on the beach, saying, "Wow, the water's receding. Look at these fun shells we can pick up." They don't realize a tsunami is coming. But it is. The topics come up on the air. Take the fourth issue the governor discussed: pension reform. Locally, in San Diego, we have a huge city blow-up over pensions. They've over-promised and under-funded for 10 years. They went from 92 percent funded to 67 percent and the whole city council and Mayor Dick Murphy are now in a political crunch trying to figure out what to do before the federal government comes in and indicts everybody. It is now something that people know — at the local *and* state level — has to be reformed. People say, "Wait a minute. You mean a guy walks out after 20 years in state government with 90 percent of his highest year's salary? That's impossible." These topics are discussed every day on talk radio. My total listening audience in the county is just under 2 million people. I reach 275,000 to 300,000 in a given week. Every one of them is a voter. You don't have to move too many to the conclusion something's wrong before it creates a huge groundswell saying let's do something.

Schwarzenegger's people are smart and know politics, but I remember too that the political *cognoscenti* at first wanted nothing to do with the recall. It was not business as usual. Well, business as usual has Republicans stuck in a permanent minority position in a state where they shouldn't be. They should be competitive. There are ideas that will swing a vast majority of middle of the road Californians to conservative positions on redistricting, teacher pay, spending, and pensions. A strong majority of voters this year can create a new majority around these issues and a better California for many years to come.

The model of the recall, using the Internet, bloggers, talk radio, and the interactivity among them, is the political basis on which Schwarzenegger could get this done.

— Roger Hedgecock

RAY HAYNES — WHY UNIONS OWN THE DEMOCRATS

In popular mythology, California votes Democrat in presidential elections and elects a state Legislature dominated by left-wing Democrats because California is a "liberal state," *i.e.*, one with a solid majority supporting the anti-market, anti-family, pro-welfare state, pro-high taxes, pro-bur-

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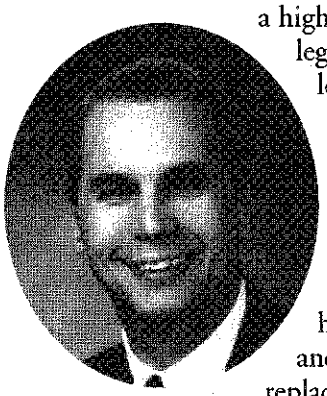
eaucracy politics that guide the leadership of the state Democrat Party. But if this were even remotely so, Cruz Bustamante, who ran for governor in the recall as a high-tax, drivers licenses for illegals liberal, would not have lost decisively everywhere except in the admittedly left-wing Bay Area, the one spot in California where the myth is true. Of course, were it true of the state as a whole, we'd have seen no recall at all, and Republican candidates to replace Davis — running emphatically on a get-Sacramento-spending-under-control platform — would not have received 62 percent of the vote.


Ray Haynes

California going Democrat for president is matter for another article. Here, I want to answer the question: why, if the state is not "liberal," is the Legislature almost always run by the far left? One answer is that Democrats have worked harder than Republicans to set the terms of the state's political debate, building an infrastructure in the old media of newspapers and broadcasting that promotes the liberal view of the world while suppressing competing views. Roger Hedgecock, in a nearby article, discusses this aspect of the question. Another answer is that Democrats have proven adept at insulating their political funding from democratic processes, using, as their main vehicle in this regard, public employee unions. Through these unions, they fund their political machine *without regard to whether those supplying the funds actually support the Party's political program.* Nearly as important, they also serve to hobble effective political action by their natural competition: business. Understanding the extent to which the Democrat power structure depends on these anti-democratic activities of public employee unions is es-

The taxpayer-assisted, left-wing Democrat union shakedown blues

Lou Uhler

Among the proposed reforms that may appear as an initiative on a special election ballot later this year is one to free public employees from coerced financial support of their unions' political activities. It is supported by Lou Uhler, president of the National Tax Limitation Committee. The following excerpts are from a recent discussion CPR *held with Mr. Uhler.*

Currently, the state collects whatever money the union has negotiated for. Some of it is used for normal union purposes. Some goes into a fund for politics. The individual member has no choice and the union uses the money at its discretion — for campaigns for candidates or ballot measures, for or against. This initiative would require that they talk directly to the member and the member has to write his own check or give them cash. It adds constraints on the representations made by the union leadership .... if they make any physical threats, or threats as to jobs, it's a felony.

This measure is restricted to public employee unions because this is a taxpayer issue: to have our tax dollars, paid to public employees, withheld by the state or local government, makes taxpayers agents of the union. This is as an old battle. In the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, Thomas Jefferson said that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical, and that is what we are doing.

I expect this initiative to do better than previous, similar efforts because we've entered a whole different world today. After the revelations of the excesses of public employee unions, particularly during the Gray Davis era, the average citizen-taxpayer is much better educated as to union excesses.

Critics call this union bashing in the guise of an effort to achieve fairness. They say it's an anti-worker, Republican campaign to gain political advantage by attacking a Democrat constituency. To that I say: bunk. The political results of this will be whatever they will be, but the threshold questions are: one, should anyone be coerced to make political contributions to causes in which he does not believe? That's the most fundamental civil right that we have. The answer is obvious. Number two: should we as taxpayers through our government be agents for violation of civil rights? And the answer to that is equally no. CPR

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These 'unions' aren't really much more than tools of political influence, serving little or no useful function for government employees while extracting huge sums from them in the form of 'dues.'

— Ray Haynes

sential to understanding why Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's reform package threatens their power structure to its foundation.

COERCED FUNDING

First: the mother's milk of politics. During the last 30 years, public employee unions have emerged as political powerhouses, but not because they represent and serve their members. In fact, these "unions" aren't really much more than tools of political influence, serving little or no useful function for government employees while extracting huge sums from them in the form of "dues" that are then used to elect Democrats to school boards, city councils, county governments, the state Legislature, and Congress. Without the public employee unions' ability to force their members to support union political machinations, Democrats would long ago have lost control of Sacramento. The Democrats know that, which is why these "unions" own their souls.

Now the governor has proposed merit pay for public school teachers. Leaving aside the promise this reform holds for improved education, it would devastate funding for California's Democrat political machine. Why? Because it would necessarily eliminate California's "single salary schedule" for teachers, the teachers union's single greatest tool for controlling its members. The state's "single salary schedule" law says every teacher is paid exactly the same as any other teacher with the same seniority and education no matter how good or bad a teacher he or she may be. So what? Well, if teachers were hired and paid according to how well they teach, good teachers would *need no union;* they'd find and hold jobs at high pay on their own. And poor teachers who survive only through union protection would be gone, along with the union's power base. The teachers union knows this, and so guards the "single salary" law at all costs.

Merit pay would be the end of "single salary." Another proposed initiative — requiring public employees' express permission before unions could take their money for politics — is discussed by Lou Uhler nearby. Either this initiative or merit pay, if passed, would devastate coerced union-based political funding for Democrats; together they would imperil the Party's very survival.

UNDERMINING POTENTIAL OPPONENTS

The governor's proposed pension reforms would strike at another aspect of the Democrat/"union" strategic power structure. The unions run the government pension system, CalPERS, which is the largest institutional investor in the world. One reason business is afraid to cross Democrats in California, and contributes money to elect them, is that a business that stands up to the Democrats soon finds CalPERS selling off its stock, diminishing its value on Wall Street. Those who go along find CalPERS investing to increase their stock's value. CEOs and boardrooms react to that kind of pressure. But if public employees owned their pensions, as they would under the Schwarzenegger plan, CalPERS would lose its power to manipulate stock values and union bosses couldn't dictate political policy to private industry.

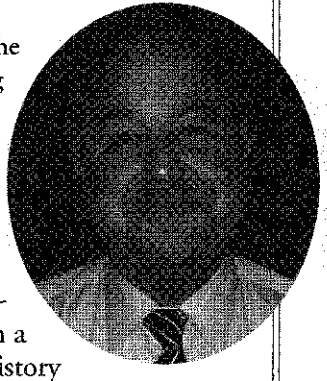
If the Democrats and the unions needed any further reason to fear the proposed Schwarzenegger reforms, once the governor's proposals are understood they will be wildly popular not only with voters but also *with teachers and government employees.* (Something else for the California-is-a-liberal-state folks to explain).

Thus the stakes could scarcely be higher in the election coming later this year. Expect full mobilization of the well-funded liberal political machine. If even some of the ballot measure reforms pass, it may be the last such extravaganza California will see for some time.

WILLIAM E. SARACINO BUSINESS: FINALLY READY TO FIGHT?

It was a victory for political demagoguery, a triumph for the unsubstantiated charge that sounds convincing in a 30-second television commercial but which does more to confuse than inform.

— Ronald Reagan, commenting on the 1973 defeat of his tax-cutting Proposition 1



William E. Saracino

As Republicans look toward the mother of all election battles this fall, I would commend to them Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.'s comment that "a page of history is worth a volume of logic." The relevant history page for this discussion involves Governor Ronald Reagan's effort to pass a tax reduction initiative — Proposition 1 — in a November

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1973 special election. State government, at the time, had accumulated an $800 million surplus. Reagan proposed his initiative in part to rebate to the people these over-collected taxes and also to place a permanent cap on the share of income the people could be forced to pay in taxes.

He wanted to make up for the tax increase he had supported early in his first term and to make at least that much money unavailable for spending by the profligate Democrats who controlled the Legislature. It was widely assumed, even by the measure's opponents, that it would pass. The stars seemed to be aligned for it: a popular governor was chief spokesman for a measure to save taxpayers money. The measure would appear on a special election ballot, which usually meant turnout skewed toward Republican and conservative voters. Is any of this beginning to sound familiar? Let's hope the familiarity stops here.

MARQUIS OF QUEENSBERRY?

For the rest of the story is that many traditional Republican funding sources, including big business, sat on their hands or made only half-hearted efforts in support of Prop. 1. The Democrats, realizing that a blow was about to be struck at the heart of their welfare state infrastructure, mustered every union and tax-eating interest group in the state. The foes of Proposition 1 ended up outspending Governor Reagan and its supporters, and on election day the proposition lost, 54 to 46 percent. The reverberations were far reaching: a personally humiliated Reagan served the final year of his term as governor as a lame-duck; tax cutting as government policy suffered a blow from which it would not recover for five years — until Proposition 13 came along in 1978; the tax and spend Democrats became unchallengeable rulers of the Sacramento roost.

The business community never appreciated its enormous stake in that election, and so failed to provide the resources necessary to insure the proposition's passage, a failure that proved fatal, though not totally incomprehensible. Even back then, some businessmen — especially the elite — seemed to fear conservative ideas more than the excesses of welfare state socialism. Even back then, 32 years ago, some businessmen — especially the elite — believed in a mythical creature known as the "moderate Democrat legislator" and spent more time fussing about offending these phantasms than defending the solid reality represented by Ronald Reagan. And, finally, even those businessmen willing to commit fully to the battle seemed to underestimate the enemy's ferocity. They seemed unprepared for the bare knuckles, brutal campaign that was waged against Prop. 1 and its supporters. Republicans sent the Jaycees into battle against the Crypts, employing Marquis of Queensberry rules in a knife fight. All in all, the outcome was preordained and should have surprised no one.

William E. Saracino is a member of CPR's *editorial board.*

OR JUNK YARD DOG?

So if 2005 is not to be 1973 over again, the billion dollar question is: has the business community caught up with California political history? Signs at this early stage of the contest are encouraging. The organizations representing California's mega-businesses — the state Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable, and the Manufacturers and Technology Association — have all, at least in principle, signed on to help the governor pass his initiatives this fall. Organizations representing smaller businesses, the NFIB and others, appear ready to join the fray. Sources in Sacramento who deal regularly with business interests and Capitol denizens describe a state of commitment and cooperation unusual this early in a campaign for an election that might not occur until next fall.

Late last summer the leaders of the above organizations met with the governor to gauge each other's seriousness in, as one participant described it, "going to

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the mattresses." The result was everyone adopting a "go for it" attitude and the founding of "Citizens to Save California" as the PR and campaign vehicle for the campaign. Co-chairmen of the committee are Allan Zaremberg, president of the Chamber; Bill Hauck, president of the Roundtable; Joel Fox, president of the Small Business Action Committee; Jonathan Coupal, president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Committee; and Larry McCarthy, president of the California Taxpayers Association. This formidable group, joined by representatives of the banking and insurance industries, meet regularly and most of them have assigned staff members to work full time on the upcoming campaign.

More significantly, various sources described the financial commitment business leaders have made to the governor as "whatever it takes." And what it *could* take might be a princely sum indeed. The Democrats and their nanny-state allies will most certainly conduct a campaign to make 1973's "unsubstantiated charges" designed "more to confuse than inform" look like the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The Democrats and their clients — the pilot fish who feed off of the leviathan state — know that passage of the governor's reforms will end the public-trough feeding frenzy that sustains them. They will leave no stone unturned, no mandatory union fee unspent, no inflated sob story untold, and no brazen distortion untried in trying to defeat their own electoral Armageddon.

RAMROD STRAIGHT AND FULL OF IRON

To counter this the backbone of California business had better be ramrod straight and full of iron. That's what it will take to keep writing checks when the Democrat onslaught begins blowing full gale. The governor and most Republicans realize the initiatives will rise or fall based on Schwarzenegger's salesmanship and on the competing views the public holds of him and his opponents. If the election were held today it would be no contest. But the Democrats, their political allies, and their old (and still quite substantial) media cheering section can be counted on to use the next six to eight months assaulting the governor's character. And they will also strike with a vengeance against the governor's prominent donors. Major business contributors to the governor's efforts can expect to be singled out for the Wal-Mart treatment. This will be all-out war, no quarter given or asked.

Various sources described the financial commitment business leaders have made to the governor as 'whatever it takes.'

— William E. Saracino

Will the CEOs continue to write checks while their outlets are being picketed by handicapped aide recipients and school teachers?

All out war, frankly, is precisely what California business has been abysmal at fighting in the past. Their elitism has kept them from making common cause with their most logical and effective allies — conservatives in and out of the Legislature. Their obsession to appear "moderate" has driven them to incredibly stupid lengths with their political contributions, leaving them more often than not standing empty-handed after the election. Their phobia about being seen as any type of "right winger" or "zealot" has led them like sheep to the Democrat shearing shed. They emerge denuded of their money and their political agenda, but comforted in the knowledge that members of their private clubs will look kindly upon their moderation.

For reasons too complex to explain in a short article, the governor's *persona* has allowed business to overcome their usual death wish. Many of its leaders have signed on to reforms that frankly are much more radical — in the good sense of that word — than anything Pete Wilson or George Deukmejian ever tried. As you read this they are committing resources and key personal to strategic planning and research. And they actually seem ready to stop apologizing for successfully providing the goods and services that make everyday life in California decent for average citizens.

So prepare for an epic battle. The governor's strong political team will call the shots in this election, with business at long long last ready to do its financial share and more — all to pass what must fairly be described as monumental, historic, conservative government reforms. This journal (and I) have often kicked California business around for its political myopia. It's still a long way to election day, but this

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time the scales appear to have fallen from their eyes, and the business community has it exactly right. The Marquis of Queensberry is out, and junk yard dogs are in. CPR

DAN HOLLINGSWORTH TURNING CALIFORNIA 'RED'

Republicans can register one million additional GOP voters over and above what the Party would normally expect to register between now and late summer 2006. Doing so will require a program concentrating in geographic areas the Party traditionally neglects: districts with Republican registration either too small as a percentage of voters to offer a chance for Party candidates to win, or those so overwhelmingly Republican that GOP nominees literally can't lose.

In the past, the Party's primary thrust has been to target assembly, state senate, and congressional districts where general election contests promise to be close, working to register Republicans mainly as a means of pushing the GOP candidate over the top. As district-level campaign strategy, this program should remain number one. But Republicans must also improve their ability to win statewide constitutional offices and U.S. senate and presidential races. In addition, late this year California will probably vote on a series of statewide initiatives that could shift the state's partisan balance of power dramatically.

Their fate will certainly depend to a large extent on the effectiveness of statewide GOP registration and Get-Out-The-Vote programs during the next 10 months. The key will be Republicans' ability to capture all potential GOP voters.

The Ronald Reagan Voter Registration PAC was formed last year to meet this need. Its targets are 1) heavily Republican legislative and congressional districts with strong population growth and 2) California's "blue areas": Los Angeles County and the Bay Area for instance, where pockets of Republicans have been ignored. LA County has more Republicans than any other two counties combined, but few competitive Republican legislative districts. LA County GOP Chairman Linda Boyd and her fellow Republicans are doing a great job in this regard, but can use additional support.

All donations to the Ronald Reagan Voter Registration PAC go to pay for voter registration. Early efforts during the Christmas holidays produced 3,200 new registered Republicans. About 60 percent of these are registered as permanent absentees, making it easier to follow up with them and make sure they vote.

This effort could register 1 million new Republicans in 20 months by assembling 25 teams statewide, each team consisting of 10 people and each team member registering 50 new Republicans per week. The 25 teams would thus register 12,500 new voters per week for 80 weeks, equaling 1,000,000 new Republicans. The $5 to $6 million such an effort would require is significantly less than any viable statewide candidate or campaign will spend just for television time. In addition, registration is less costly in non-election years, so this effort won't wait until three months before the next general to begin making California a "Red State."

For information, contact The Ronald Reagan Voter Registration PAC (FPPC#1271428) at P.O. Box 20065, Riverside, CA 92516, 951/679-9009, Fax: 951/679-2171, E-mail: JoDan1211@aol.com

Dan Hollingsworth is a member of the California Republican Party state central committee and chairman of the Ronald Reagan Voter Registration PAC.

THOMAS G. DEL BECCARO GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZING

The success of Governor Schwarzenegger's proposed reforms rests to a great degree on the leadership provided by California's state and county Party organizations. Some of the factors they have to work with:

REPUBLICAN MOMENTUM

Democrats have squandered the political advantages of their large legislative majorities through a combination of bad leaders (Davis, Bustamante, Perata, Shelley, etc.) and poor governing. The governor's popularity and his pro-active reform package have put Democrats on the defensive, draining their resources and cementing their image as defenders of big government. Republicans now hold political momentum in the state.

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This momentum has voters increasingly identifying with the GOP, which translates into voter registration. Recently, the gap between Republican and Democrat registration hit a 70-year low. It coincides with a new emphasis on local party building that began in several counties during the past four years and which received a strong boost in the prominence given grass roots organizing nationally by both parties throughout last year's presidential campaign. This revitalization of the grass roots has translated into burgeoning volunteer organizations (including California Republican Assembly and Republican Women's Federated) in places as diverse as San Diego County and Placer County. Other Counties — Stanislaus and Monterey, for instance — despite operating with GOP registration at or below Democrat levels, have employed extensive voter identification, voter outreach, and voter education programs to help Republicans capture increasing numbers of "nonpartisan" local offices.

Thomas G. Del Beccaro

A UNIFYING AGENDA

The governor has concentrated on themes — state spending, pensions, education, and redistricting reform — on which virtually all Republican volunteer groups can agree. Intra-party warfare over issues will not hobble GOP grass roots efforts as it has too often in the past. In addition, fair elections through a new redistricting are particularly popular with volunteers who labor in what are now safe Democrat districts. In addition, an off-year special election means local parties and volunteer groups will not be distracted by individual legislative races and will be able to concentrate and coordinate their resources on the reform effort.

ALL-OUT FOR REGISTRATIONS

All the necessary factors are present in 2005 for California's local and state parties to break records on new registrations and on attracting Independents and Democrats open to switching Party affiliation. Key elements of an effective all-out voter registration drive include:

Sophisticated programs to ID demographic groups that are natural supporters of the reforms proposed by the governor, including individuals and groups holding a vested interest in them (business, for instance, which, broadly, has an institutional interest in education reform; or, more specifically, the trucking industry, for which budget reforms that permit road taxes actually to be spent for road building and maintenance could see significant savings in the road taxes they pay and in the increased costs of driving on currently congested and ill-kept-up roads and highways);

Early development of targeted marketing/PR efforts to reach potential new Republican voters well in advance of the high registration period in the month before the special election;

A coordinated, statewide registration effort down the stretch for all volunteer groups including regional coalition meetings and a permanent absentee registration drive. That effort should be spearheaded by the individual county organizations with support from the state CRP;

Continued state Party funding for staff for counties that are experiencing high growth rates or which have high GOP registration potential. Continued CRP assistance will permit these counties to continue to move forward with effective Get-Out-the-Vote programs and to become more self-sustaining over time.

Three straight GOP national election wins coupled with the Davis ejection have left Republican volunteers riding high and many a Democrat volunteer disheartened. Bush-Cheney '04 proved decisively that volunteers sincere in their beliefs are more motivated and effective than paid mercenaries. Also, this year, that edge will be magnified because many Democrats and Independents support redistricting reform. All of these dynamics will unify, energize, and propel Republican volunteer groups. Whereas off-years usually bring slow atrophy to volunteer operations, 2005 should outdo even the regular general election cycle in keeping the grass roots fired up, building, and working. CPR

Three straight GOP national election wins coupled with the Davis ejection have left Republican volunteers riding high and many a Democrat volunteer disheartened.
— Thomas G. Del Beccaro

Thomas G. Del Beccaro is publisher of Political/Vanguard.com *and a candidate at the California Republican Party's February convention for president of CRP's County Chairman's Association.*

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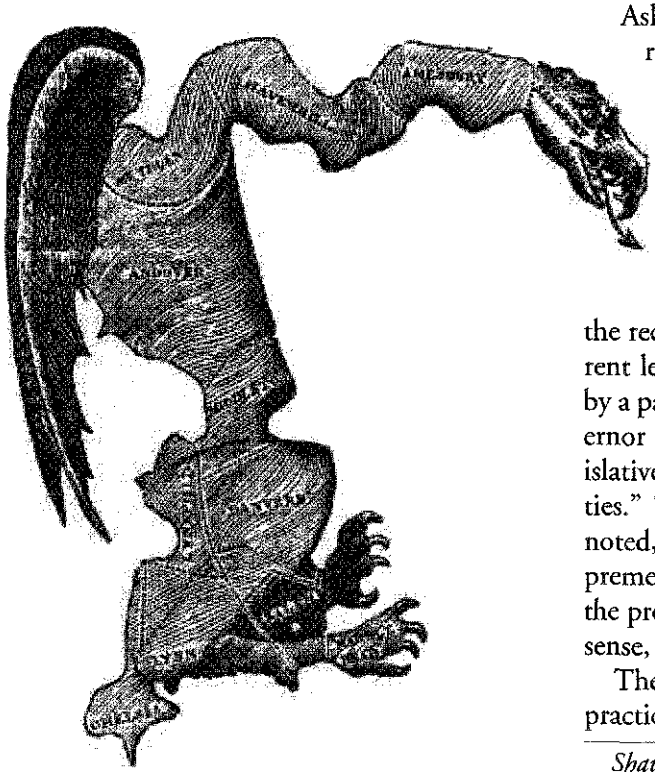
Kill the gerrymander?

Shawn Steel

Backing redistricting reform is a no-brainer



Ask yourself: is there any compelling reason to preserve the current gerrymander? Clearly, the only real rationale is self-interest on the part of the 153 incumbent federal and state legislators keen on insulating themselves from competitive re-elections for the remainder of the decade. Sadly our Republican legislative leaders in 2001 capitulated to the Democrat left and virtually sentenced our Party to years as a permanent minority.

Given the resistance of those same Republican leaders to the recall, I happily embrace the governor's call to overturn the current legislative gerrymander and replace it with district lines drawn by a panel of retired judges. In his State of the State address, the governor pointed out that "153 of California's congressional and legislative seats were up in the last election and not one changed parties." That's a startling statistic. It represents, as some wags have noted, a degree of undemocratic stability members of the old Supreme Soviet would have envied. Is it a surprise then that defense of the present gerrymander is led by the incumbents it protects? In that sense, *opposition* to Schwarzenegger's plan is genuinely bipartisan.

The case for drawing new lines now — and institutionalizing the practice — is compelling on several levels. Elected officials current-

Shawn Steel is director of the California Club for Growth and the immediate past chairman of the California Republican Party.

Ray Haynes

It's not a cure-all

Some of my colleagues believe Republicans cannot become a majority in California unless the state has a "fair" redistricting performed by judges. In the last 45 years, California has had six redistricting plans submitted: two by judges, in 1971 and 1991, and four by a Democrat-controlled Legislature and a Democrat governor, in 1961, 1966, 1981, and 2001. Republicans have not drawn a district map in California since 1951.

Interestingly enough, Republicans have fared worse under judge-drawn districts than under Democrat-drawn districts. In 1974, Republicans fell to 23 seats in the Assembly and eight seats in the Senate. In 1998, Republicans fell to 30 seats in the Assembly and 14 seats in the Senate. In the '60s, Republicans bounced between 36 and 41 seats in the Assembly. And in the '80s, they were between 33 and 36 seats. In every case, other factors, not redistricting, hurt or helped Republicans. In the 1970s, it was Watergate. In the 1980s, it was Ronald Reagan. In the 1990s, it was internal GOP strife. Redistricting only magnified the internal prob-

Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

(Please turn to page 28)

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ly choose their voters, not the other way around. It is unjust for politicians to shove voters here and there into districts of the politicians' choosing — district that make no or little geographical sense and ignore communities of interest — for the sole purpose of ensuring that the authors of the gerrymander are returned to office with as little electoral fuss as possible.

Representative government is healthier when politicians — whether incumbents or challengers — have to compete for the votes of those they wish to represent. As it stands, the only competition is in partisan primaries, giving candidates little incentive to consider the concerns of constituents outside their party.

Some critics of the current gerrymander complain that since party primaries — disproportionately influenced by ideological liberals and conservatives — are the decisive contests, the Legislature tends to be polarized between the left and the right, with few moderates in between to bridge the ideological gap.

I have a different take on that issue. As a conservative, I contend the current gerrymander disserves our movement because it relieves conservative candidates of having to communicate their principles persuasively to middle-of-the-road voters. Let's be honest (demographic trends not withstanding): California is a blue state, and successful Republican candidates have to explain their philosophy so as to persuade voters who do not yet support conservative ideas to do so.

This is a subtle but critical point. California Republicans desperately need to develop a deep bench of candidates who can be competitive statewide. That's why we now have a California Club for Growth. And as conservatives, we'd like to see that bench composed of individuals who share our commitment to liberty, limited government, lower taxes, and traditional values. The best way to build that bench is for conservatives to win in competitive districts that more or less mirror the statewide electorate. Conservatives who can win in districts that are not slam dunks for Republicans will have the skills and instincts necessary to be elected statewide.

Supporting the governor's initiative is also imperative from the standpoint of Republican Party building. Granted, leaders of the GOP congressional delegation contend the Party will actually lose seats in Congress if the lines are re-drawn fairly. I do not know if this is the case or not. But even assuming it is true, a worst case scenario of losing five seats would not jeopardize GOP control of Congress. However, staying with the current lines will condemn Republican efforts to make gains — let alone win control — of the state Legislature to exercises in futility. I contend it is preferable for Republicans to lose a few seats in a House of Representatives guaranteed to remain Republican into the next decade if it gives them a real chance of gaining seats in the Legislature.

By the same token, putting redistricting in the hands of a panel of judges means we can count on fair lines every 10 years. This allows California Republicans to engage in truly long-term Party building, rather than laboring like Sisyphus for 10 years to increase GOP registration and boost our share of the Legislature only to see whatever gains are made wiped out every 10 years by a partisan gerrymander.

I'll concede that the current gerrymandered district's benefit some Republicans — 67 of them to be exact. But do the current lines benefit the Republican cause? Republican defenders of the *status quo* are asking their fellow Republicans to forgo a certain future of level legislative playing fields in order to preserve a gerrymander that locks their Party into minority status.

Critics of redistricting reform say we shouldn't redraw the lines in the middle of the decade. I say, why not? The state constitution does not prohibit it. Indeed, political prudence demands that Republicans pursue this course while the window of opportunity is open to us. We have a Republican governor who is willing to leverage his immense popularity and fundraising prowess to pass a redistricting initiative. When will the political stars again be in such a propitious alignment for Republicans? Will we allow a misplaced sense of politeness to prevent us from seizing this moment? Enacting fair districts now will lead to the reasonable surety of a Legislature hospitable to the stern reforms necessary to rescue California from semi-permanent insolvency and banana republic status.

Moreover, the guarantee of fair, impartial districts is a Holy Grail Republicans have chased for more than a generation. GOP attempts to achieve it *via* ballot initiative were defeated in 1982 by a well-financed, stunningly dishonest campaign orchestrated by Willie Brown, allowing Democrats to impose a plan that artificially buoyed their numbers in both the Legislature and the congressional delegation.

By contrast, we secured a fair redistricting in 1992 because Governor Pete Wilson steadfastly rejected the Democrat gerrymanders the Legislature sent him — including gerrymanders acceptable to Republican legislators. This, by default, handed the job to a panel of retired judges, who devised districts that preserved

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communities of interest, "nested" assembly districts within senate districts, and gave both parties a fighting chance to win control of both legislative houses.

Ask yourself: were California Republicans better off under gerrymandered lines of the 1980s, or the fair redistricting of the 1990s? For me, at least, the answer is easy. Better for the California Republican Party to fight on a battlefield offering the possibility of victory, than on one guaranteeing defeat.

A final note regarding persistant reports of a plan to join redistricting reform to some amendment, backed by legislative Democrats, loosening or ending California's Term Limits law: it is not surprising that Democrats as the primary beneficiaries of the gerrymander would support such a plan. In the unlikely event the governor supported it, it would kill the entire package. Voter support of the recall, the governor, and redistricting reform all key on the theme that Sacramento has become an insiders' ballgame desperately in need of cleaning up, and that, by definition, the insiders cannot be depended upon to do it. Any proposal to modify term limits would send the opposite message, making such a proposal the perfect poison pill for the entire reform. CPR

Haynes

lems. Just as importantly, redistricting initiatives have a spotty history. Republicans tried a redistricting initiative in the '80s (it lost) and two in 1990 (both lost). As a Party, Republicans don't have a whole lot of weapons in the fight against the Democrats; we have to be careful how we spend them.

I do not oppose the redistricting initiative. I just hope people recognize that it is not a cure-all and that it is an iffy proposition at best. Republicans cannot outtechno the Democrats. They devote their lives to thinking about this stuff. The GOP advantage rarely lies in out-planning or outsmarting them on political mechanics. The real Republican advantage is that our ideas are better than theirs. In addition, we can outwork them.

The amazing thing is not that Republicans lose elections in California. Democrats have more money, more special interest backing, more power, and more registration. The amazing thing is that Republicans don't lose *more* elections. When they *do* win, it is because of the power of Republican ideas. They will win more if more work is done to spread those ideas. If time and resources are wasted trying to slick our way to a majority, it won't happen.

The political process is an opportunity to persuade people to entrust a Party with power. Republicans should take to the process, and get to persuading. If people trust Republicans, and not Democrats, they will entrust Republicans with power, and let them keep it. And they will trust Republicans when Republicans have convinced them they will use that power in ways that, over the long run, will be better for them and their children. If the people become convinced that Republicans only want power for its own sake, they will not entrust them with it.

People are leaving the Democrats for a reason: they don't trust them. But they are not registering Republican; they are moving to "decline to state." They do not yet trust us. A redistricting effort will not gain that trust. Republicans should focus their political effort on gaining that trust.

Redistricting may be *necessary* before Republicans can win a legislative majority, but it is not *sufficient*. Party activists and supporters should realize its limitations, and not raise their expectations that it is any sort of guaranteed path to victory. On the contrary, if Republicans invest so much faith in "fair district lines" that they continue to neglect the real work of winning voter trust, it is a guaranteed path to defeat. The path to GOP victory will be built with the hard work of convincing people to vote Republican. That is the only way a Republican majority will be won, redistricting or no. CPR

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Silent No More

San Franciscans rally, walk, and tell how abortion harms women

By Bill May

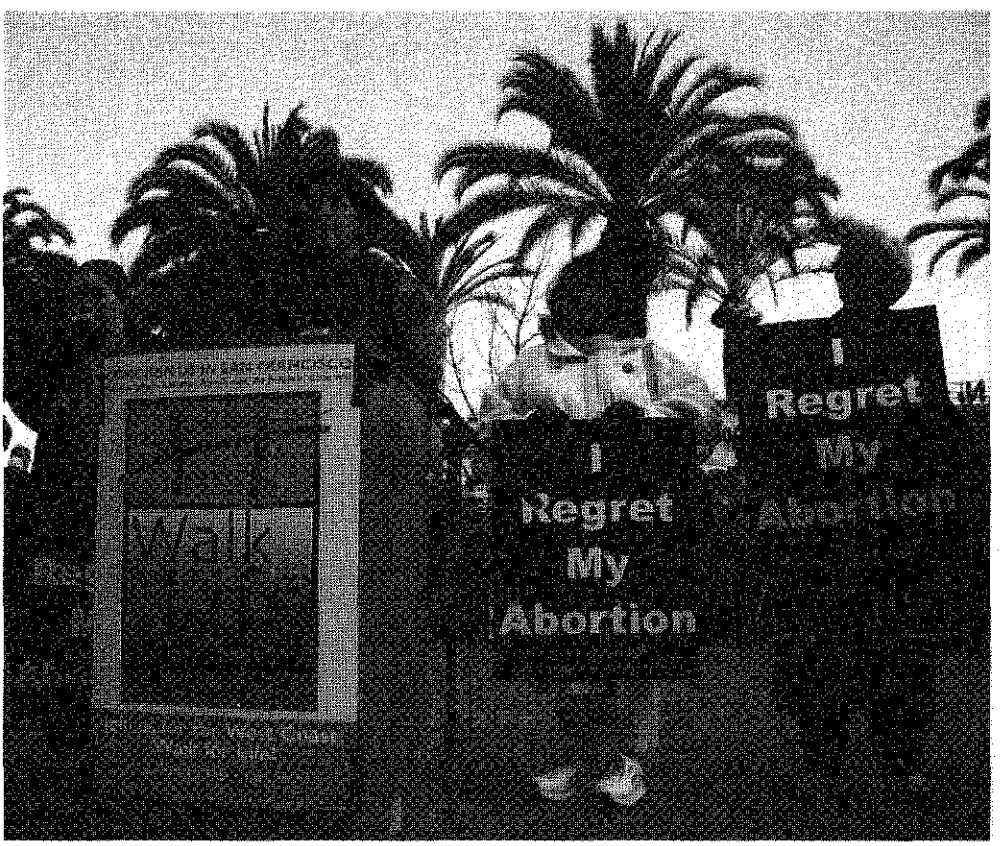

Photo copyright Penelope Boldrick

January 22, San Francisco became the west coast focal point for the pro-life movement as 8,000 people gathered to celebrate life with a rally and walk carrying "Women Deserve Better than Abortion" signs. It happened in a city where, until recently, abortions were reputed to have out-numbered live births. This first annual Walk for Life, West Coast, was a dramatic and historic event for a movement that has been consistently growing for 32 years while fighting for the most fundamental human right of all: the right to live.

Event organizers Dolores Meehan and Eva Muntean maintain that everyone knows abortion is a disaster for the baby. What people don't know is that it also harms women. Increasing numbers of post-abortive women talk about the emotional trauma they have experienced in coming to grips with the reality of the child they lost. No one warned them about that before they made their choice, often under pressure from the

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Bill May is chairman of Catholics for the Common Good (catholics4commongood.org), a pro-life, pro-family, pro-freedom, and pro-poor organization founded on the social teachings of the Catholic Church.

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Photos courtesy of Dan Mullen

Counter demonstrators
Love & Justice

fathers or "well-meaning" and uninformed family and friends.

"I was lied to when I had my abortion," said Georgette Forney, president of the Episcopal pro-life organization NOEL. "Abortion hurts women!" she told the crowd. "I will be silent no more!" Standing with a group of women holding signs saying "I Regret My Abortion," Forney said, "We want the truth to be heard in San Francisco. We want women and men to know help is available if you are hurting from your abortion."

Speaking to an audience that no doubt included many Democrats, Carol Crossed, president of Democrats of Life, said, "We Democrats need to return to our roots and protect the vulnerable — and that includes the most vulnerable, pregnant women and their children."

The size of the turnout combined with the strong support not only of city residents but also of people from around the state and up and down the west coast seemed to surprise local pro-abortion activists, political leaders, and the media. The rally's message also seemed to take many of them by surprise as they found themselves trying to stifle a discussion about women's physical and emotional health. "The abortion industry would prefer that women didn't know the truth about abortion — the painful reality," said San Francisco Archdiocese Respect Life Coordinator Vicki Evans. "They would rather cloak it in the innocuous term 'reproductive rights.'"

"If abortion were made illegal tomorrow, there would still be abortions unless there is a change of heart and attitude about abortions," said organizer Dolores Meehan. "Many women who have had abortions are suffering. We have to let them know we understand what they are going through." To help women make informed choices, flyers were distributed with phone numbers for pregnancy centers where women can obtain information about abortion, learn about available alternatives, and receive post-abortion counseling to help cope with abortion's aftermath.

Judging from blog accounts, the opposition was stunned by the high percentage of young participants, high school through young adults. Many families turned out with children and infants in strollers.

In the week preceding the Walk, the county board of supervisors passed a resolution declaring San Francisco a "pro-choice" city and held a press conference with

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Planned Parenthood and NARAL to generate support for a protest against the Walk. They seemed to want to put everyone on notice that "anti-abortion" people are not welcome in San Francisco. In a city heavily dependent on tourism, especially given the national mood shown in the last election, that message must have made the Convention and Visitors Bureau cringe.

At their press conference, the supervisors irresponsibly claimed that outside "anti-abortion" demonstrators, including elements prone to violence, were about to descend on their city. "Progressives need to come out in force," said Supervisor Chris Daly, "and adamantly declare that San Francisco will steadfastly remain a city that supports and defends women's reproductive freedom."

Appeals from bloggers went out for help to generate crowds of counter protesters. "Into the streets to fight the right! This is a call for all anarchists, anti-authoritarians, and other militant anti-fascist and pro-choice activists to confront the anti-choice right and defend pro-choice demonstrators from fascist and police violence." Flyers went out stating, "The anti-choice minority might be emboldened by the climate in Washington, D.C., but they are not welcome here!"

"The San Francisco board of supervisors should be ashamed of themselves for proclaiming this a 'pro-choice city'," said Forney. "If the supervisors really cared about women they would provide pregnancy centers and provide real choices for women. Our experience is abortion is not good for women."

Baptist Minister Clenard Childress, head of Life Education and Resource Network, invoked the memory of Martin Luther King, comparing today's pro-life movement with the civil rights movement of the '60s and '70s. "We are standing here for those who are denied the dream of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." As the sounds of protesters filtered into the plaza, the black minister encouraged supporters of life to persevere in the spirit of King. He said the county supervisors' statement that the Walk was unwelcome in their city paralleled "the same language of the people who were supporters of the Jim Crow laws. It is that same spirit of oppression which has mutated and has now hit children in the womb."

The roar of angry protesters held back by police lines just a block away was by now echoing through the canyons of San Francisco's financial district, seeming to engulf the pro-life rally. Although there was never any danger, the noise created a sense of anticipation among the participants, and uncertainty over what might happen next. Dolores Meehan warned walkers that protesters along the way were likely to try to provoke them and that they should avoid engagement. "This is not the day to have a debate, this is a day to be witnesses to peace," she cautioned, recommending that parents with small children stay toward the center of the group for an extra margin of safety.

The throngs of walkers left the rally at Justin Herman Plaza in a street-wide procession stretching a half-mile. They wove their way in silence or with song or prayer through the picturesque but now hostile streets of San Francisco. They expected provocations, but were still shocked by the vicious verbal attacks and profanity shouted by protesters who lined the path of the Walk. The contrasting vulgarity of the protesters and dignity of the pro-life walkers seemed to both adults and children to confirm that what they were doing was good and honorable.

By the end of the day it was evident there was plenty of enthusiasm for returning to San Francisco next year to build on a successful start to a new West Coast pro-life tradition. "We are proud and happy our fellow San Franciscans and Californians — and all supporters of women and of life — made a public statement here on the West Coast," said Walk co-organizer Eva Muntean. "We hope we've touched some lives." CPR

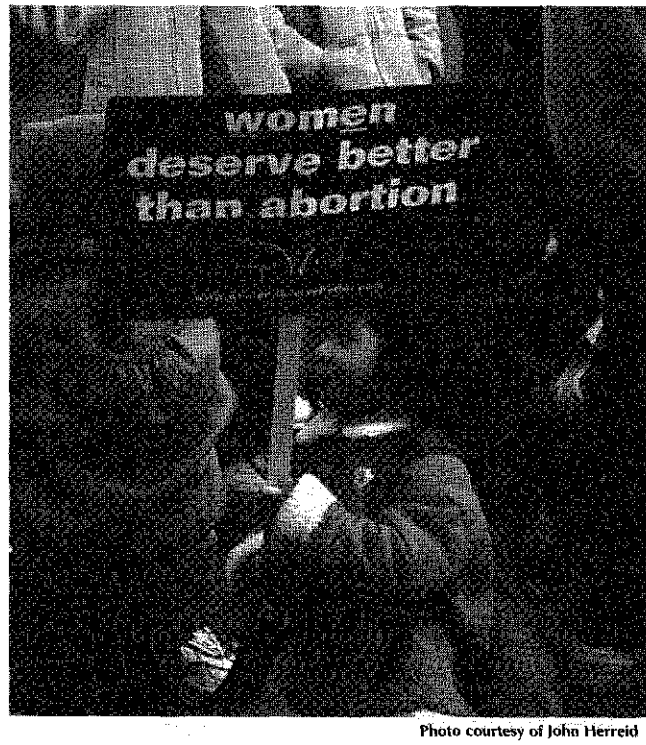

Photo courtesy of John Herreid

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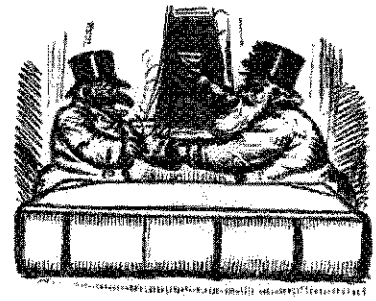

CRITICUS

Decorum

BY G.B. TENNYSON

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

— Horace

HORACE WAS expressing a widely held view when he wrote in an ode the line cited above, which translates as: "It is sweet and right to die for your country." What is rendered as "right" in the translation — that is, *decorum* — is also often rendered as "fitting," "seemly," "proper," and sometimes even as "noble." Certainly the thrust of the expression is that it is a fine and honorable thing to fight and die for one's country. It was a sentiment that was widely held during the First War and was implicit in those posters in Britain showing a mustachioed Lord Kitchener pointing his finger and stating "Your Country Wants YOU," or sometimes his face alone standing above "Wants YOU." In due course this was followed by the American equivalent depicting the goateed Uncle Sam pointing his finger and saying "I Want YOU for U.S. Army." Some of the luster was taken off such notions when Wilfred Owen's poem "Dulce et Decorum Est" was published after his death in one of the late battles of the war in 1918.

Owen's poem is often called the best known poem of the First World War. It describes in brutal terms the horrors of trench warfare with its mud and muck and poison gas, with blood spouting from soldiers "guttering, choking, drowning" as they stumble, wounded, back from the front line. Owen concludes his poem: "My friend, you would not tell with such zest / To children ardent for some desperate glory / The old lie: Dulce et Decorum est / Pro patria mori." The poem helped give a bad name to the concept of dying for one's country, and it probably did a bit of the same to the concept of decorum.

Decorum, of course, had been around for a long time, and it applied to more than patriotism. It was once used to denote what was right and fitting in literary or artistic composition and also for what was appropriate for the position and rank of individuals. Above all it became a term to denote, as the Oxford English Dictionary puts it, "propriety of behavior; what is fitting or proper in behavior or demeanor, what is in accordance with the standard of good breeding; avoidance of anything unseemly or offensive in manner."

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's *cultural watchdog, who strives in all things to act with due decorum.*

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The Victorians were especially keen on decorum. Women in particular were exhorted to act with due decorum and therefore to be decorous, so much so that the word *decorous* itself came to be associated with retiring young ladies who would shrink from any kind of display or vulgarity.

With such an emphasis on moral uprightness decorum became almost as one with Victorian prudery, that mode of conduct that governed, for example, the placing of books on shelves so that a female author's work was never to be placed in immediate, touching adjacency to that of a male author, unless the two were husband and wife. I believe an exception could also be made if the authors were parent and child or children, as with Mrs. Frances Trollope and her sons Anthony and Thomas. (Of course one would never allude to the indecorous sound of their shared surname.) And the Brontë sisters could presumably be placed touching the Brownings, as Elizabeth Barrett Browning would come first and she could then touch Robert Browning.

Yes, such were the days of decorum carried to its extreme. By the Roaring Twenties that kind of decorum was mocked and flouted, along with any association of nobly dying in battle. That is why in the famous Oxford Union debate of 1933 the resolution that "This House will under no circumstances fight for King and country" passed by a vote of 275 to 153. Six years later Britain declared war on Germany and two years after that the United States was at war with Japan and Germany. All of the combatants saw their sons (doubtless some of them from the Oxford 275) eagerly volunteering for service. Looking back a half-century later those young men were being called "the Greatest Generation." Whether that proposition is really true or not is a subject for another column, but it does look as though certain aspects of decorum had come suddenly back into style. They remained so until the Vietnam War turned the tables yet again.

What these ups and down in the concept of decorum illustrate is not that the fundamental idea of decorum is false but rather that the specifics change from age to age. Victorian gentlewomen rode horses sidesaddle and for obvious reasons were instructed not to ride bicycles at all, whereas by the 1920s American flappers danced the indecorously but accurately named "Black Bottom." To bear a child out of wedlock was an offence against traditional decorum until fairly recently; now everyone from ghetto dwellers to celebrities do so, and the former are given public money while the latter are given public acclaim. We fancy now that all ideas of decorum have been cast away, and as far as concerns Victorian prudery that is largely so, though even much of that survives in certain circles. And everywhere the concept of decorum itself lives on.

The best illustration of the endurance of the idea of decorum came recently to the front pages of our newspapers, websites, and television screens. I refer to the caper of Prince Harry and the Nazi uniform. As for once every schoolboy really does know, Prince Harry was photographed at a costume party wearing the uniform of the German Afrika Korps with a swastika armband. The photo, actually taken by a friend of Harry's (perhaps now a former friend), was splashed on the front page of the British tabloid *The Sun* next to an enormous headline reading "Harry the Nazi" and almost immediately found its way to the world press, even making the front page of the *Los Angeles Times,* a rare event for a story that had nothing to do with Bush-bashing or deploring the state of things in Iraq. But it was part of the almost universal outcry of shock, horror, and dismay.

Though Harry apologized, the media continued to cry for blood. Many wanted a grander apology. Many wanted Harry's father Prince Charles to apologize as well and confess that he had been a poor father. Many wanted Harry to be dispatched to observe the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Many delved into the very German background of the royal family (it is after all really the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and only became the House of Windsor by royal fiat in the First War), as though Prince Harry had by blood some natural affinity with the Nazis. (No one thought Harry ac-

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tually knew anything about history.) The case of Harry's great-grand uncle, the Duke of Windsor, and his known admiration for and friendship with Hitler were endlessly discussed. Prince Philip's German ties (after all Mountbatten is but a translation of his birth name of Battenberg) were trotted out. Even the fact that the current Duchess of Kent was German born and her father a Nazi general was cited against Harry. Some wanted more education about the Holocaust taught in schools, especially in light of the fact that a majority of school children in both Britain and America are apparently ignorant of the very word itself, to say nothing of what it signifies. There were suggestions that Britain, like Germany, ban the display of Nazi symbols, especially the swastika. In all, the media were in transports over this story.

ALMOST ALONE at first that intrepid weight watcher, Fergie, Duchess of York, came out in defense of hapless Harry. Others then began to blame it on his youth, his ignorance, his inexperience, his impulsiveness. Criticus even observed one royal watcher on television let slip a remark about Harry's possibly taking after his "real" father, Major James Hewitt, but he was quickly shushed up by Mr. Fair and Balanced. No one wanted to say anything remotely negative about Harry's self-indulgent and often absent mother, the late Princess Diana, Criticus's idea of the ultimate Dumb Blonde. (An aside: as Constant Readers of this column know, Diana's memorial fountain in Hyde Park has turned into a malfunctioning public nuisance and is now under permanent guard.) The intelligent and sensible columnist Mark Steyn stepped up to defend Harry and ridicule the whole brouhaha. Now he is joined by the intelligent and sensible Criticus.

Yes, Criticus will say a word in Harry's defense that is also a further examination of decorum. At the very moment of Harry's revels at the costume party, theatergoers in London were rollicking in laughter, as had theatergoers in New York before them, over the comic antics of *The Producers,* that over-the-top send-up of Hitler and Nazism, in which swastika armband wearing Nazi soldiers disport themselves on stage singing "Springtime for Hitler and Germany." Costume outfitters in England are clearly doing a brisk business in Nazi regalia and uniforms. Who knows, Harry may have got the idea of wearing the uniform from the comedy show. Why, then, is the display of Nazi items allowed in the theatre but not at a private party? The answer, of course, has to do with decorum.

The media and the chattering classes will allow just about anything to go on in the theatre or in films but have *much stricter* standards for life outside of the world of make-believe. Granted, Prince Harry is third in line to the throne and thus a very visible public figure who may be expected to set an example of good behavior. All the same, he was at a private party, and one can imagine that he chose his costume as a joke. But one may not in real life joke about Nazism. Presumably he could have come dressed as Josef Stalin or Mao, both of whom had more blood on their hands than Hitler, but the arbiters of modern decorum adhere without even thinking about it to the old French socialist maxim of *pas d'ennemi à gauche* (no enemies to the left) but plenty on the right. To give even any semblance of approval to something on the right is to offend left-wing liberal decorum.

Note that at last I call *this* decorum liberal, for that is what it is. Take almost any contemporary contentious issue and you will find that it is contentious because it violates the decorum of one side or other in the culture wars. Just in recent months we have the following instances of violations of decorum:

- In France Jean Marie le Pen was, not for the first

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time, publicly chastised for an utterance favorable to the Nazis. Constant readers will remember that a few years back le Pen shocked the world by saying that the Holocaust was a footnote to the Second War. More recently he again provoked outrage for saying that the Nazi occupation of France was "not especially inhumane." The French government has launched a criminal investigation into the matter. So much for free speech.

➧ In Birmingham, England, a play titled *Behzti* (Punjabi for "dishonor") depicting rape and murder in a Sikh temple closed after just a few performances because the Sikh community mounted public protests, breaking windows and trying to storm the stage, so that the producers of the play, fearing physical harm to the cast, cancelled all future performances.

➧ Some self-appointed researchers in Britain have decried the amount of violence to be found in nursery rhymes, claiming they are ten times more violent than television shows presented during children's viewing time. Think of poor Humpty Dumpty and his downfall, Sing a Song of Sixpence with the blackbird pecking off the maid's nose, the full version of Simple Simon in which he is trampled by a cow, and most of all the sad fate of Jack and Jill. Will there be a move to ban nursery rhymes?

Just to show how impartial Criticus can be, let me note that there is also a decorum of the right. To cite but a few:

➧ Janet Jackson's "wardrobe malfunction" offended many and encouraged the government to start imposing sanctions when public decency was flouted on radio and television. Howard Stern is moving to satellite subscription radio so that he can continue his potty-mouth style of speech without government interference.

➧ A crowd at a rodeo erupted in fury and the organizers escorted a television performer calling himself Sasha Baron Cohen out of the arena when he urged George W. Bush to drink the blood of dead Iraqis and sang a version of "The Star-Spangled Banner" that ended with "your home is your grave." The crowd booed and one in attendance said, "If he had been out there a minute longer, I think someone would have shot him."

➧ Criticus recalls being somewhat unnerved when riding on a sightseeing bus in Melbourne we came upon a huge billboard advertising a brand of clothing designated only by the gigantic letters FCUK, which stands for French Connection United Kingdom. No wonder that on the bus several respectable looking women of an age were heard to take offence at the tasteless vulgarity of the ad. The French Connection has now done it again by marketing a line of fragrances, one for her and one for him, through the largest drug store chain in Britain which advertises the fragrances under the same logo as the clothing and includes exhortations to potential buyers that I forbear to print here. This play on letters reminds Criticus of a bumper sticker he saw during the recent election campaign that read "Buck Fush," with the B and F in larger and more brightly colored letters than the rest. Imagine riding around town with that on your car's rear end.

The media and chattering classes will allow just about anything to go on in the theatre or in films but have much stricter standards for life outside the world of make-believe.

➧ Then there are the inadvertent offences. One such was made by a Las Vegas television weatherman who on air said: "For tomorrow, 60 degrees, Martin Luther Coon King Jr. Day." His subsequent apology was not enough to prevent his being fired from his job. However, only indulgent smiles greeted Senator Ted Kennedy's recent slip of the tongue when in the presence of the person in question he called the freshman senator from Illinois "Osama bin ... Osama ... Obama."

ONE ESPECIALLY egregious example of breach of decorum managed to offend both left and right. This is the case of *Jerry Springer: The Opera,* which is a musical currently running in London. Evidently it is even more tasteless than the actual Jerry Springer television show on which it is based. Accounts differ as to the number of times the f-word and the c-word are used, ranging from 3,186 for the f-word and 297 for the c-word to a mere 117 f-words and seven c-words. But no one disputes that there are scenes of a semi-naked homosexual Jesus

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being fondled by Eve while the Devil and a drunken Adam watch with delight, along with a section showing a profane Virgin Mary bewailing the behavior of her wayward son with a stream of four-letter words, and indeed many other Christian-bashing numbers, the very titles of which I cannot repeat here.

So long as this musical remained on the stage and therefore required one to buy a ticket, there was not much complaint. Some critics even lauded it and said the music was excellent, and it even garnered an award or two. But then the BBC decided to air it on television. This provoked a furious reaction especially from evangelical Christians who not only protested by phone to the extent of 50,000 calls but resorted to a tactic usually employed by more radical groups, namely to publish the home addresses and phone numbers of 15 senior BBC executives and producers. They had to be given round-the-clock security.

The BBC deplored this tactic but went on with the televising of the show all the same. The problem was, according to many viewers, that there was so much that had to be bleeped out that it was almost impossible to follow, which shows that television and other media are still constrained by a kind of super decorum that governs the use of certain words, albeit fewer and fewer all the time. Even though the program was, in effect, edited for decency, it still brought out defenders who complained that the protesters were trying to suppress free speech. And thus the proponents of two different views of decorum met in a battle that in the end had no real winner. Meantime, be warned: *Jerry Springer: The Opera* will soon be coming to a theatre near you, or at least as near as San Francisco, where it is already booked, and it will eventually move on to New York. It will be interesting to see whether it provokes similar attacks and defenses in the U.S.

NOTE THAT in all of these controversies the word *decorum* itself is virtually never used. It has remained for Criticus to come forth with the defining term. For these are all struggles over what is fitting, over what is, to adapt the words of the Prayer Book, "very meet, right, and our bounden duty" to observe in public life. Any reader can think of a half-dozen comparable controversies grounded in concepts of decorum, from the use of "Christmas" in public discourse to the efforts to ban any reference to God in any place or by anyone associated with the government to the banning of so-called hate speech. The competing notions of decorum are aspects of competing worldviews. The question is: which will prevail? On that issue the Critical crystal ball remains cloudy. CPR

Books in Brief

When Prisoners Return: Why we should care and how you and your church can help
by Pat Nolan, Prison Fellowship (877/478-0100), 2004, 143 pages, $14, paper. *Reviewed by John Kurzweil*

TWO-THIRDS of the 600,000 inmates released from America's prisons in a given year will be in trouble with the law again within three years. To this monumental failure of a government "program," the first purpose of which, after all, is to protect us from crime, the justice system has more or less nothing to say. That's because crime, at its root, is a moral problem (as Professors James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein proved in *Crime and Human Nature,* 1985) and the ACLU has convinced too many Americans that the one moral imperative we may never transgress is that government must ignore morality.

As Pat Nolan writes in this compact, powerful volume, "Unfortunately, many prison programs ignore the moral aspect of crime and avoid all discussion of faith and morality .... Most people assume that faith is encouraged in prison. I certainly did when I was in the Legislature. Yet, when I was incarcerated I found the opposite was true." Chuck Colson's Prison Fellowship, the parent organization that employs Mr. Nolan as head of its criminal justice arm, runs programs encouraging a moral change of heart for inmates. The results have been dramatic: a National Institute of Health Care study found, Nolan writes, "that prisoners who attended 10 or more Prison Fellowship programs each year were 64 percent less likely to be rearrested within a year than inmates in a matched comparison group."

So the bad news is that the system is failing on its own. The good news is that when we the people lend a hand in bringing faith and morality to inmates, the failure becomes a success. Pat's *When Prisoner's Return* is a brief but detailed course in how we all can help to turn lives around from evil to good, the noblest work anyone can do, and protect ourselves — our neighborhoods, our property, our families — in the process. Along the way, it becomes apparent that the alternative to socialism's failures (stemming from the lazy impulse to "let government do it") is personal effort by free men and women, and that the alternative succeeds. CPR

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The Peace Officers Research Association of California, representing more than 58,000 working men and women in law enforcement, welcomes the California Republican Party's Spring Convention.

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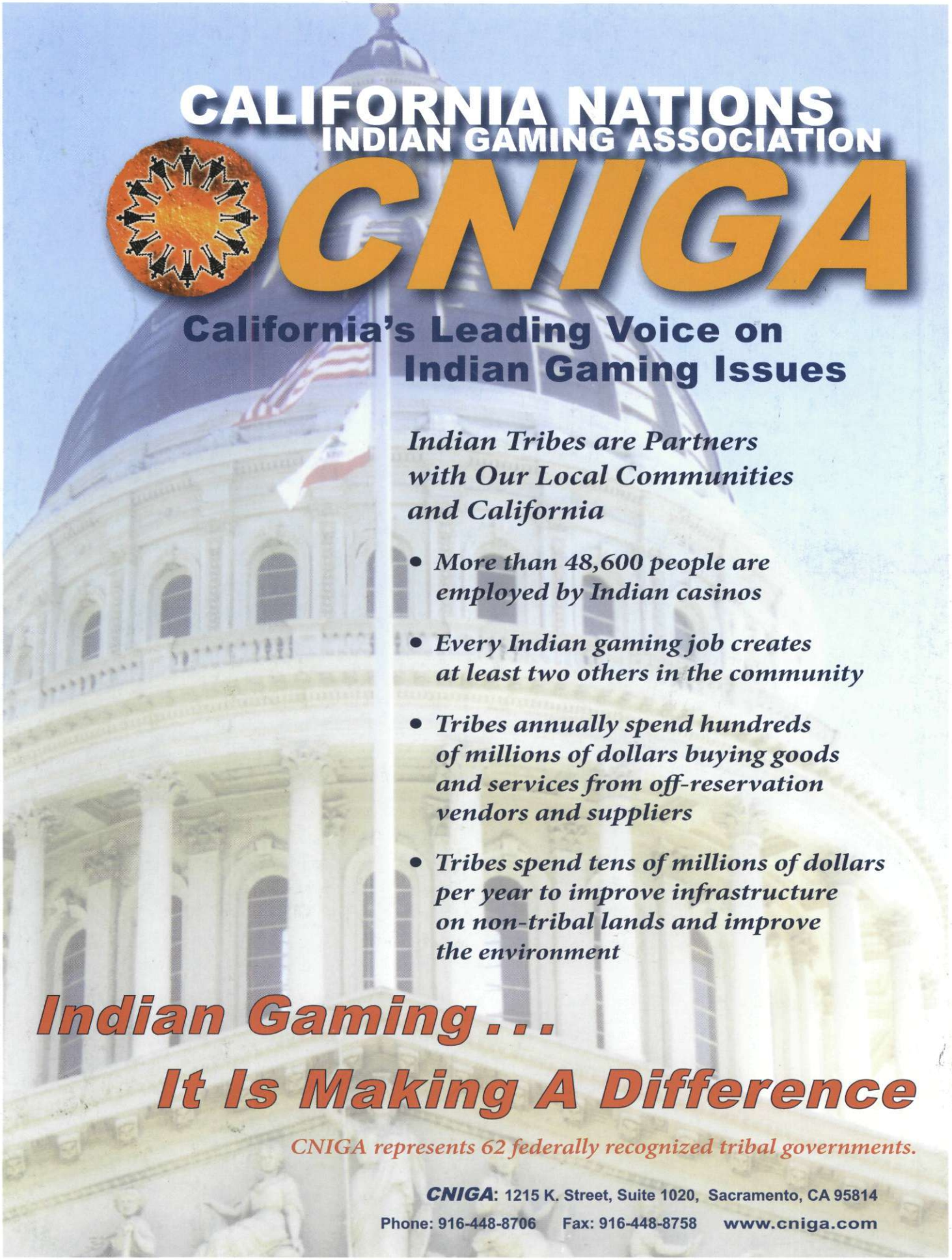
CALIFORNIA NATIONS
INDIAN GAMING ASSOCIATION
CNIGA
California's Leading Voice on
Indian Gaming Issues
Indian Tribes are Partners
with Our Local Communities
and California
• More than 48,600 people are employed by Indian casinos
• Every Indian gaming job creates at least two others in the community
• Tribes annually spend hundreds of millions of dollars buying goods and services from off-reservation vendors and suppliers
• Tribes spend tens of millions of dollars per year to improve infrastructure on non-tribal lands and improve the environment
Indian Gaming . . .
It Is Making A Difference
CNIGA represents 62 federally recognized tribal governments.
CNIGA: 1215 K. Street, Suite 1020, Sacramento, CA 95814
Phone: 916-448-8706 Fax: 916-448-8758 www.cniga.com

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